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HISTORY OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

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HISTORY OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

PART THE FIRST.

SUPPRESSION IN THE PORTUGUESE DOMINIONS.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

IN THE PORTUGUESE DOMINIONS.

BY THE

REV. ALFRED WELD,

OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

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MALEDICIMUR · ET · BENEDICIMUS

PERSECUTIONEM · PATIMUR · ET · SUSTINEMUS

BLASPHEMAMUR · ET · OBSECRAMUS

TAMQUAM · PURGAMENTA · HUJUS · MUNDI · FACTI · SUMUS

OMNIUM · PERIPSEMA · USQUE · ADHUC

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INTRODUCTION.

The recent publication in German and French of M. Huber's *Jesuites*, and the still more recent appearance in this country of Mr. Cartwright's attack on the Society of Jesus, seem to afford a fitting occasion for presenting to the English reader a memorable passage in its history, in which the character of those who assailed it, and the means made use of to ruin it are shown with a clearness that cannot fail to throw great light both on its past and its present fortunes. It is a subject on which a member of the Order would for many reasons wish to be silent, and the obvious advantages to be derived from his greater opportunities of information have alone prevailed on the writer to break through this reserve.

No one is ignorant that the Society was suppressed throughout the world by a Brief issued by the Supreme Pontiff Clement the Fourteenth, August 21, 1773. Scarcely two years had elapsed after the publication of this Brief, when in the year 1775, Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli, at the command of the new Pope, Pius the Sixth, presented to His Holiness a *votum* or memoir on the case of the Society. At the commencement of this document we read as follows: 'I say then that the cause of the Jesuits taken in general is of the gravest moment, as indeed it has been held to be in the judgment of the whole world, from the time when it first began to be publicly ventilated. Princes of the Church and of States

have laboured in this cause, I shall not say for months, but for very many years. The enemies of the Society of Jesus, as well as its supporters, look upon the cause as the centre and focus of designs of the greatest moment; and yet after so long a time, after so many and such great intrigues, it cannot be said with truth that the question is at an end, or that a final and irrevocable judgment has been given.'[1] These are grave words, and they would lead any thoughtful reader to consider the causes of the strange and varied vicissitudes of the Society during the three centuries of its existence, of the great favours it received from Pontiffs and Kings, of the bitter persecution it met with from its birth, and of the war which raged so hotly around it during the third quarter of the last century.

It is with one scene of this picture that the volume before us is engaged, but it will help us to understand many other passages of the history of the Society, the antagonism it has at all times met with, and the origin of the accusations that have been brought against it. What images are not called up even in the minds of sober Englishmen by the name of Jesuit? What country is there from which they have not been banished? What crime is there of which they have not been accused? The ordinary reader sees the Society of Jesus described as a powerful organization of crafty and ambitious men, whose design is universal sway, and who know no limit to the means which they are ready to use to accomplish their purpose. There seems to be a common consent on the subject, and he stops not to reflect whether this is a real consent of reasoning men, or the loud sounding voice of the ignorant or the malevolent, but accepts it because it is written. It matters nothing to him that no proof of the

[1] *Memoria Cattolica Secunda*, vol. i. p. 22.

accusations brought against the said Society is adduced, or that where its enemies have attempted proof they have failed to establish it. This, it is said, is only another evidence of the secrecy and skill with which the Jesuits carry out their designs, of the strength of their organization, and consequently of the greater danger which attends their efforts. So it is, and so it has been, and it is no wonder if, even among friends, many whose knowledge of human nature is not as great as their love of virtue, ask with concern, to what are these accusations to be attributed? how is it that a Society professing to devote itself solely to the salvation of souls, to the seeking of the highest spiritual good of the greatest number, in the most disinterested manner, a Society which by its profession is the friend and benefactor of the human race in the highest possible sense, should be hunted in turn from every civilized nation in the world, hated, reviled, banished, and at last even suppressed by the Supreme Pontiff himself? It is easy to understand that simple minds may be led to believe that so hard a lot must in some way have been deserved by the Society of Jesus, that either its Institute itself had been found unsuited to the times, or that the vices, ambition, and intrigues of its members had caused the world to rise up against it, and rendered necessary such extreme measures on the part of the Supreme Pontiff himself. Is it possible that the States of Europe could have laid aside their mutual jealousies, and combined in a deadly conspiracy against a body of innocent men, whose only desire and sole occupation was to labour for their own sanctification and the spiritual good of their fellow-men? Is it credible that the Vicar of Jesus Christ would lend a hand to a design of such iniquity? These are questions that have been often asked. And it is the object of this volume to assist the reader in

answering them. The enemies of the Society of Jesus appeal triumphantly to history, but the history that is accessible to the public is in too many instances only an expression of the hatred of the writer not against the Jesuits only, but also against the Church, and consequently an unsafe guide in unravelling the plots to which that writer himself is a party or of which he is a dupe. But the day comes at last when those who feared the light are no more, and history gives up her most secret records.

In many points connected with the persecution of the Society of Jesus this day has already come, and the result is an overwhelming proof, signed by the hands of those who hated and of those who loved it, that it was not in reality persecuted for the crimes of which it was accused, but for its too great devotion to the Church which it served, for its too great success in her cause, and mainly for its influence in preserving souls from perversion by the education of youth; or because it stood in the way of the criminal designs of ambitious and unscrupulous Ministers. It will be fully proved in the sequel that this has been the object of those persecutions from the beginning, and a thoughtful reader will see that the same ends are pursued now.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to warn the reader against a common prejudice which too often takes possession of unsuspecting minds, that accusation is a sign if not of guilt, at least of some fault, or imprudence. How often does an accuser, unable to substantiate a charge against the Society, sum up by calling attention to its extreme imprudence, when there is no more sign of imprudence than of guilt! When malice is determined to revile there is no need even of an act of imprudence to furnish an occasion. He Who showed the path to the highest Christian virtue, led the

way, too, in suffering reproach, and left us the warning that as men persecuted Him so they would persecute us also. No one is ignorant of the calumnies that were cast against the primitive Church even in the days of its most resplendent fervour. When the great Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic began to spread through Europe, they were assailed by bitter enemies, though the nations of Europe were still united in faith and obedience to their head. The jealousy of those who could not bear comparison with their holiness and zeal, and the hatred of those who could not brook their admonitions, sufficed to raise this storm against them. Was it then to be expected that the Society of Jesus could pass unscathed, be its holiness what it might, when it not only found the world filled with jealousies and vices, but the whole of Europe broken up into sects, a large part cut off from union with the Church, and those nations which remained faithful infected with secret heresies and open infidelity, while it lived to see the statesmen of Christian nations in league with both to destroy it? Could it be expected that the Society in these circumstances should escape persecution? It could have escaped it only by joining hands with the enemy it was called to combat. That it did not do this, the story of the conflict tells too well. The history of the events by which the overthrow of the Society was brought about is full of interest not only to members of the Society itself, but to all who wish to know the value of a party cry, and how falsehood can be made to pass before the world as truth, or who care to be set on their guard against the machinations of crafty men, who by distortion of facts, the most odious of calumnies, and hideous hypocrisy, would instigate simple men to the commission of crimes from which every one of right mind would shrink with horror if presented in their true colours.

It has been said that the enemies of the Society appeal to history. The Jesuits, too, claim the testimony of history in their favour, and challenge their enemies to disprove their statements with respect to the real cause of the animosity shown to them. But it is not only in the simple statement of events that the thoughtful reader will find a defence of the Society. He will find it first of all in the consideration of the character of the men who have at all times persecuted it, and of those who have defended it; he will find it in the avowals openly made by its enemies, of their motives of attack; he will find it, if he reflect, in the patience and humility with which its members suffered; in the veneration in which their name was held by the poor, from whom they had been torn away, and in the good odour of Christian virtue and Apostolic zeal which they shed around them amid the trials of exile and their degradation from a state which they esteemed so much. 'An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit:' and if it is true, as St. Leo wrote that 'he is undoubtedly perverse, whom the enemies of the faith love,' we may form a strong presumption, that he is a worthy member of the Church whom its enemies have at all times reviled and hated. If Mahometans were to rise up in wrath against some supposed defects in the conduct of our priesthood, we should feel that these are not the men to be moved by a holy zeal for the purity of the Spouse of Christ. The kingdom of Satan is not divided against itself. No one will believe that the greatest enemies of the Church and the Papacy would move Europe to root out from its bosom what they really believed to be a seed of destruction to both. Human nature itself revolts against a line of conduct in opposition to the end which is proposed. 'An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit.'

This argument was well understood by the great Henry, who, in his answer to the President of the Parliament of Paris, spoke in these words: 'I have noticed that when I have spoken of re-establishing the Jesuits, two classes of men have opposed me, those, that is, of the pretended religion, and ecclesiastics of bad life, and this has increased the esteem in which they are held.'[2] The same was still acknowledged nearly two centuries after, when other enemies had arisen against them. 'I do not cordially love the Jesuits,' said the 'well-beloved' King Louis the Fifteenth, 'but heresy has at all times detested them.' The reason of this hatred is acknowledged without disguise by no less an authority than Melancthon himself, when he says, 'Alas! what are we

[2] *Histoire de Henri le Grand.* Par M. Scipion Dupleix, Paris, 1632, p. 506. Villeroi, in his *Memoires*, has, 'and this has increased my esteem for them.' The words used by Henry were *ceux de la Religion.* They are so given by P. Matthieu, who received the materials for his history from Henry himself; by Villeroi, the King's Secretary of State, in his Memoirs, and by the *Mercure Français* of 1611. This is a Huguenot expression, and is used repeatedly in the Huguenot writings of the time to designate themselves. One or two instances out of many will suffice to show this. In the *Cahier de l'Assemblee de Saumur*, 1611, n. 4, we read: 'Soient par sa Majesté députés deux Commissaires de chasque Province, un Catholique et *l'autre de la Religion.*' And again, n. 38: 'Que les Concordats faits a Nismes en 1577, entre *ceux de la Religion* et les Catholiques,' &c. Henry spoke as he had been accustomed, and used the Huguenot language, and no better proof could be wished for of the genuineness of the speech than this little phrase, which no Catholic certainly would have invented. Dupleix, whose history was published in 1632, appears to have introduced the word *Prétendue*, to make the sense more clear, and it is from him P. Daniel has taken it in his history. Dupleix almost always speaks of the Huguenots as *les Religionaires*, and relates that at a Conference in 1593, the Archbishop of Bourges having spoken of them as *Messieurs de la Religion*, 'Du Laurent, Advocat Général du Parlement d'Aix, ne le pouvant souffrir, se leva sur pied et luy dit, Monsieur, adjoutez *Prétendue*, car le nom de Religion sans queue ne l'appartient pas.' De Thou denied the authenticity of the whole speech, but M. d'Ecluse des Loges, in his edition of the Memoirs of Sully, considers that the evidence in its support, at least as to its substance, is too strong to admit of its rejection. See *Mémoires de Sully.* Paris, 1827; vol. iv. p. 10.

doing? The whole world is full of Jesuits. These horrible[3] Jesuits delay the advance of our religion: there would not be one Papist left in Germany if an evil genius had not most unfortunately introduced these brawlers. Would that the whole Society might perish!'[4] Schopp makes the same confession, and Hospinian has left us the following declaration of the purpose of his work.

'Satan gnashes his teeth, Antichrist rages, the Jesuits are in uproar, and endeavour to subject everything. It becomes us to meet their fury, and these convulsive efforts, and strain every nerve that the true religion, the doctrine of the Word of God be preserved pure in the reformed Churches, and strenuously preserved from the leaven of Jesuitism.'[5] It is for this purpose, that is, as an engine of war against the Church, he gives to the world his '*Jesuitic History, that is, on the origin, rules, &c., and their deceits, frauds, impostures, nefarious crimes, bloody designs, false, seditious, and sanguinary doctrine.*'[6]

Let us now hear the Protestant historian Schöll, who tells us why the Society was persecuted in his time: 'To overthrow the ecclesiastical power,' he writes,[7] 'it was necessary to isolate it, by taking from it that sacred phalanx which had devoted itself to the defence of the Pontifical throne, that is, the Jesuits. Such was the true cause of the hatred which was vowed against this Society.'[8] 'Once we have destroyed the Jesuits,' writes Voltaire to Helvetius, 'we shall have it all our own way against the *Infame.*' I shrink from translating this horrible blasphemy. And Frederick II. to D'Alem-

[3] 'Pessimi.' *Raccolta d'Apologie*, p. 42. Fossombrone, 1760—5.
[4] *Memoria Cattolica Secunda*, i. p. 51.
[5] Rodolphi Hospiniani, *Historia Jesuitica*, Tiguri, 1670. Præfatio.
[6] *Ibid.*, Title-page.
[7] *Cours d'Histoire*, vol. xliv. p. 71.
[8] Cited by De Ravignan, *Clement XIII. et Clement XIV.*, vol. i. p. 11.

bert: 'Well done the philosophers! The Jesuits are driven from Spain, the throne of superstition is undermined, and in the next century it will totter.' I could fill a volume with similar confessions, but there is a higher authority even than that of these two infidels revealing to one another their inmost thoughts. On June 9th, 1762, the Supreme Pontiff Clement XIII. wrote to the King of France to implore his protection for the Society in these solemn words: 'We come once more, Sire, to implore the powerful protection of your Majesty, but it is no longer in favour of the religious of the Society of Jesus alone, or in their interest, that we implore your powerful protection, it is for the sake of religion itself whose cause is intimately bound up with theirs.' This passage speaks for itself, and we need only add to it that Urban VIII. had already said in the Bull of Canonization of St. Ignatius, that God had called him by wonderful paths to resist the errors of Luther and his followers.[9]

There is no doubt that the fruitfulness of the Society in its first years was sufficient to excite the animosity of those who hated the Catholic Church. God gave to the labours of its first members a blessing for which we have to be ever thankful, but which its children can only recall with confusion. Even in 1599, the Fathers of France in their 'humble remonstrance to Henry the Fourth,' could point to the four hundred thousand youths already educated by the Society, 'all of whom,' it was said, 'with few exceptions have remained firm in their faith amid the errors by which our age is shaken, and very many of whom have remained great lovers of virtue and powerful columns of the Church and of the State.'[10] On

[9] *Inst.* i. p. 119.

[10] *Très humble Remonstrance et requête des religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, p. 71. Tournon, 1599.

September 27, 1540, Pope Paul the Third issued the Bull by which he confirmed the Institute, and only twelve years after, on December 2, 1552, St. Francis Xavier breathed his last at the gates of China, which he was not allowed to pass, leaving behind him a flourishing Church in Japan, the offspring of his zeal; and after having baptized, it is said, a million of his fellow-creatures with his own hand. Ricci was born in the year of this Saint's death, and after a struggle of twenty years, arrived in Pekin on January 24, 1601, and ten years after was carried in solemn procession to the tomb through the streets of the Chinese capital, attended by thousands of his converts carrying lighted torches, and was deposited in a temple given up for that purpose by the Chinese Emperor. In 1556, Anchieta was already in Brazil, a field which he cultivated with incredible patience and success for a period of above forty years, to be followed by that army of devoted labourers who have rendered the name of Paraguay for ever famous. And in 1597, the Blessed Peter Canisius went to his reward, after having been for the long period of fifty-four years the pillar of the Church in Germany, where with unwearied zeal he confuted heretics and supported the wavering Catholics in their faith. The consequence of all this was that the Jesuits were assailed by the Reformers with all the animosity that belongs to the most deadly enemies of the Church. On them appeared to be concentrated all that hatred of the Catholic name which distinguished the heretics of that time. Not to speak of those who shed their blood in this country, the real cause of whose death is now proved, for those who had previously doubted it, by the irrefragable testimony of the public records, the annals of the first years of the Society are full of the accounts of the sufferings of its members at the hands of the Reformers. In

1570, Azevedo and his thirty-nine companions were slain and cast into the sea on their way to Brazil by the Calvinists of Holland; and in 1687, Bobola was flayed alive and hacked to death by the schismatic Cossacks. But it is not my intention to speak of the violence exerted by the Reformers against the Society, but rather of their employment of another arm, more powerful because more insidious, more effective because suited to all times, one which excites a sympathy with the persecutor, whereas the ruder mode of attack produces horror. I mean the arm of calumny.

The maxim of the Calvinists with regard to the Society, as recorded by Becanus, is well known. 'As to the Jesuits, who are our greatest enemies, they must be exterminated, and if that cannot conveniently be done, they must be expelled, or at least overpowered with falsehoods and calumnies.'[11] Faithful to this maxim, the Calvinists held a meeting at Grenoble in August, 1601, and resolved that if the Jesuits were restored in France it would be a greater defeat for them than the loss of the battles of Moncoutour, Jarnac, and St. Denis; that some story must be invented, even though they had to disinter an old one; that it was quite lawful to spread falsehoods and calumnies, and to contradict their own words and deeds on 'occasions of such fundamental importance to the Church.' It was then resolved clandestinely to scatter fly-sheets first on one subject, then on another, and to send these out 'small in size, but thick as hail, so as to have more effect, and to appear

[11] 'Jesuitæ vero qui se maxime nobis opponunt aut necandi, aut si ho c commode fieri non potest, ejiciendi, aut certe mendaciis et calumniis opprimendi sunt' (*Opuscula Theologia*, tom. i. opusc. 17. aphor. 15, *de modo propagandi Calvinismum*). Becanus calls this 'a true and genuine aphorism of the doctrines of the Calvinists,' and illustrates it by a series of the grossest calumnies spread by them against the Society in Belgium, Poland, and Bohemia, and proved to be false by public authority.

more credible.' It was moreover unanimously agreed that either they must ruin the Jesuits, or the Jesuits would ruin their religion.[12]

That this was put in execution and not without success we know from the Calvinist Bayle, who tells us in a note that, 'It is a matter of certainty that whatever is published against the Jesuits is believed with almost equal readiness by their enemies, whether they be Catholics or Protestants. The accusations are renewed every time an opportunity is offered by the publication of some book. Notwithstanding, those who examine with some equity the innumerable apologies published by the Jesuits, will find such good justification of some facts that a reasonable enemy would abandon the accusations. They are treated as Catiline was: many things are laid to their charge of which there is no proof.' And in the text he says: 'The very books published against them would form a library.'[13]

Father Ribadeneira, who died in the year 1611, and consequently knew only the first half century of the Society, when it was in all the vigour of its first youth, tells us that the works written by the reformers against it even in his time were so numerous that the 'catalogue of them already filled a volume.' It was published as a counterpart to his catalogue of the writers of the Society. So notorious was this opposition that the Society was likened, even from its birth, to the rebuilders of the Temple, of whom it is written, 'With one of his hands he did the work, with the other he held a sword.'[14] And in the town of Rochelle the Huguenots undertook, about the same time, to reprint the various pamphlets previously published by their party against

[12] *Realta del progetto di Borgofantano*, tom. ii. p. 77. Cretineau Joly also mentions this meeting in his *Clement XIV. et les Jesuites*, p. 79.

[13] *Dict.* art. 'Loyola.'

[14] 2 Esdras iv. 17.

the Society; but when the work had reached the sixth volume, it was discontinued not from want of material, but owing to the magnitude which it threatened to attain. The motive of all this is explained in a letter of Pope Pius IV. to the Emperor Maximilian in the year 1564, in which he says: 'We know that these calumnies are imputed to them for no other reason than to put an obstacle to the good they are doing.'[15] And the French Fathers tell the King, in the *Remonstrance* cited above, that the enemy of mankind, enraged at seeing so great a multitude of young men educated in their Colleges, 'to interrupt the course of this good success, makes use of every engine of calumny he can devise.'[16] Those who consider these words and look at what the enemies of the Church are doing now with respect to education, in striving everywhere to take the care of youth out of the hands of the Church, will see that the common enemy has not changed his tactics in his warfare against souls.

In speaking here of calumny, it must be understood that I do not refer only to those more evident cases in which gross crimes are attributed to individuals. There is a more insidious kind, in which it is taken for granted, as known to all, that certain pernicious maxims belong to a body, or rules are attributed to them which have no existence, and the reader is led away from the point which ought to have been first proved, to follow a phantom which has no reality. It is calumny, when the rules of an institute are distorted by false interpretations, by perversions of the text, or by the slipping in of words in the comment made upon it, which represent the rule in a false and injurious light. It is calumny, when to be honoured

[15] Cited in the *Verità defesa*, p. 56, Italian version of Pertusati. Reggio, 1819.

[16] *Très humble Remonstrance*, p. 71.

is styled ambition, when to be rich is avarice, when to possess influence is to be guilty of seeking universal rule, and this without any proof being adduced that riches or honour or influence were ever sought for their own sake, or gained by unworthy means. It is calumny when these gifts are purposely exaggerated, in order to draw disparaging consequences. It is calumny when principles which have no foundation in the Institute, but of which the contrary is distinctly maintained, principles of which no evidence is given in their conduct, are fastened upon the Society, and handed down from generation to generation, till the ignorant know such principles only as identical with the profession of a Jesuit. It is calumny when accusations, which have been again and again refuted, are brought forward anew in succeeding generations, as if they had never been disproved. It is calumny in the eyes of all thinking men when crimes are repeated to the cost of a body of men, which on the face of them are impossible, and which, had they been true, would have brought its existence to a close before it spread forth from the place of its origin.

All these forms of calumny have been employed against the Society; and it is a subject of regret that they are not confined to notorious heretics of a past age, but that gentlemen living in the midst of us, who like ourselves claim the protection of the law for their characters as well as for their earthly goods, have followed the lead of the Calvinists of the sixteenth century and of the Jansenists of the seventeenth. I should be sorry to accuse all these persons of being intentional defamers, but surely when the character of a large body of men is concerned, ignorance is no excuse for the uncalled-for publication of defamatory stories, and least of all when an obvious mode of ascertaining the truth was at hand. Obedience to Superiors is represented as *absolute*, though the contrary is distinctly and

repeatedly asserted in the Institute; and a figment of the brain of a Calvinist is held up to execration as the work of St. Ignatius. The reader will see that there is no exaggeration in what I write. The gifts of princes for the foundation of Colleges and other pious works are exaggerated into a story of fabulous wealth; it is forgotten that education could not be given gratuitously unless provision was made for the support of teachers and the securing of a place of instruction, yet this gratuitous teaching is turned to scorn, because the Colleges were endowed. If Fathers Toletus and Bellarmine were compelled by the Pope to accept the dignity of Cardinal, in spite of the protests of the General, it was the ambition of the Jesuits, who could not rest till they occupied the Papal throne, though no proof was ever brought of a design to obtain these honours. If Jesuits were selected by princes as guardians of their souls, it was ambition which sought for universal sway, though no proof was ever brought that the Society sought such distinctions, to say nothing of the efforts it made to avoid them and the strict injunction imposed by the rules on such persons to take no part in public affairs. The principle that the end justifies the means, which has often even confessedly been used against the Society, is handed down as the fundamental principle of the Jesuits, though the contrary is visible to any sincere man in the Institute, though there is not an expression there to justify such an assertion, and though it has never been proved that the Society acted on such a principle, or that any member ever taught it. Because the Inquisition of Spain and other countries was held in horror by the Reformers, everywhere the simple were taught that this tribunal was an instrument of the Jesuits, till at this day the belief is all but universal, except among instructed Catholics, that the Jesuits were responsible for it, whereas it is certain that the

Society, with one or two rare exceptions to which I shall refer elsewhere, had at no time anything to say to it. I shall have continually to recur to the charges of grievous crimes, repeated again and again without any proof, and, though the falsehood of the charges is demonstrated by facts and testimonies which admit no question, after a little interval renewed in another place as if the charges had never been refuted. Finally, they would have it believed that the Institute enforces submission to a despotism which in no state of slavery was ever equalled, and at the same time sends forth a body of many thousand men, bearing this heavy yoke with a light heart, in Courts, in prisons and hospitals, in universities, in schools of grammar, traversing mountains and seas, alone in the forests of the New World, in plenty and in poverty, in honour and dishonour, everywhere bearing the burthen of absolute subjection to a despot in Rome, and yet exhibiting a liberty of spirit, a joy of heart, a constancy in labour, a union among themselves, a love of their state and a readiness for new labours, such as no liberty the earth has known has ever seen. The accusers did not see the contradiction contained in this picture. Men commonly forgot to ask whether the picture of the Constitutions presented to them was a faithful portrait, whether the General was the despot he was represented to be, whether the Constitutions contained principles opposed to every law, or rather the perfection of the Gospel drawn out according to lines furnished by the Catholic Church from the earliest ages. Had they done this, they would have understood the enigma. They would have seen that the Institute of St. Ignatius was not the rule that had been placed before their eyes. Had they stayed to examine the evidence of the charges brought against the Society; had they known the use made in the sixteenth century of the arm of calumny against the Catholic Church,

they would have passed a very different judgment on the Society which that Church fostered at its birth, and never ceased to cherish for more than two hundred years.

It is not necessary here to give a detailed account of the authors who at various times have written against the Society. I will mention only two or three of the most conspicuous who assailed it at its origin, and whose works have ever since been an arsenal from which later combatants have borrowed weapons with which to attack it. The first of these is Pasquier, whose harangue against the Society before the University of Paris, as M. Dupin informs us,[17] 'has been the point of departure every time the disputes concerning the Society have been renewed,' and yet it is Pasquier who tells us,[18] 'that the Jesuits tried to get a law passed excluding from the throne of Portugal all who did not belong to the Order, or were not chosen by them.' He tells us too that the schools of the Society are seminaries of assassins, and makes other revelations equally wonderful, not to say ridiculous. Another is Schopp, who published his *Stratagemata Jesuitarum* at Geneva, in the year 1634, a scurrilous work full of the gravest calumnies, whose attacks on the prelates of the Church are so coarse that I could not introduce them into these pages. Another is Chemnitz, who, for want of better argument, calls the Fathers Jebusites; but there is one who has had so conspicuous a part in the work of defaming the Society, that I must notice him here at a little greater length. This is Hospinian, a Calvinist minister of Geneva, of whom I have already spoken. It is useful that the reader should know something of the style of our accusers and of this history, which is the foundation of many similar works that came after it.

[17] See *La Verità sui Gesuiti*, p. 40. Firenza, 1847.
[18] *Récherches de là France.* Paris, 1621, p. 313.

It is truly a loathsome book, and it is no exaggeration to say that the author touches nothing which he does not pollute. Whether it be by corruption of the text of the Institute, by exaggerations which alter the substance, by applying the motives of fraud, ambition, and other vices to regulations and conduct, which show nothing but what is good, by innumerable charges which history proves to be false, but which it would take a volume to refute, and by obscene falsehoods shamelessly uttered with no other proof than the word of an apostate, he has given to the world a complex of calumny that can hardly be surpassed. His language exhibits a coarseness and indecency, not unfrequent in writers of his class in the sixteenth century, which happily is unknown in our days. I will give but one extract here, as a specimen of his style. Speaking of the institution of the German College, he tells us that 'youths of talent were sent to Rome, there to be educated and instructed in the midst of abominations, and when they seemed to have drunk into their inmost bowels the abominations which the Thaïs of Babylon poured forth from her cup, and to be sufficiently confirmed with the character of the beast, they were then dispersed through Germany like a swarm of locusts, that by their artifices this powerful nation might be brought under the yoke of the Pontifical errors and the light of the Gospel either taken from it, or at least obscured, just as we know a swarm of locusts can hide the light of the sun from the eyes of men.' [19]

At the period treated of in the volume before us, combatants of a different character had entered the field against the Society. These were the Jansenists, the infidel philosophers, and the politicians, whose only creed was the supremacy of the State over the Church, and whose purpose

[19] *Historia Jesuitica*, p. 110.

was to weaken the latter so effectually as to be enabled to hold undisputed sway over it. Of the hatred of the Jansenists for the Society it is hardly necessary to speak here. It is too well known, and we shall have a better occasion to notice it when we speak of the suppression of the Society in France. They inherited all the principles of the Calvinists, and the same hatred of the Church, and from the outset placed themselves in bitter antagonism with the Society. Their whole history shows an implacable warfare against it, in which some of the highest talents of the age were devoted solely to the task of rendering the Jesuits odious. It is all told in the words of Saint Cyran: 'The Jesuits are very injurious to the Church, and for its good they ought to be exterminated.' On which the Calvinist, Jurieu, comments in the following significant words: 'This sentiment is one against which it is very well known we shall not appeal.'[20] The sentiments of the infidels I have already expressed sufficiently for my present purpose in their own words. I shall have a better occasion for speaking more fully of them. Forgetting the Divine promises to the Church, they had the folly to think that if once the Jesuits were destroyed, the Church of Jesus Christ would soon fall. They overthrew what they thought were the pillars that supported it, and they produced indeed a ruin, but the Church was upheld by hands they saw not. It is enough for us that their motive is clearly expressed in their own words; but it is proved still more clearly by their acts. Of the Politicians, I need say nothing here. The reader will find a signal example in the pages before him.

It ought to be unnecessary to state here that I am far from pretending that no Jesuit has ever fallen below his

[20] *L'Esprit de M. Arnauld*, vol. i. p. 234. Deventer, 1684.

high calling. A Society which, at its extinction, numbered more than twenty-two thousand men, does not pretend to have less of human weakness than the College of the Apostles. It has had to suffer from traitors and apostates, but the attacks brought against it cannot be explained, as any one will see, by the defects of a few individuals. And here I must notice one of those inconsistencies which are found wherever men are led by passion or thoughtlessness instead of reason. It is well known that whatever fault is committed by any member of the Society, it is *the Jesuits* who have been guilty. *Ex uno disce omnes* has always been applied to it, but in an evil sense only. The only reason of this that can be given is, that it is taken for granted that the Society either authorized the evil or ought to have prevented it. And yet, as we have seen, the control that it does exercise is held up to reprobation as a crime against human nature, as though it enslaved the will, and debased rational beings to the grade of a machine; and it is against this fancied slavery that M. Caradeuc de la Chalotais pours out the whole power of his rhetoric and all the venom of his hatred. 'The Jesuits,' he says, 'are slaves, and from slaves nothing great can come.' He forgot to ask himself if Marquette was a slave when, seeking only new conquests for Christ, he dragged his canoe over the water-shed of Canada, and shooting down from stream to stream amid forests that no white man had ever trod, he, first of all Europeans, spread his sail on the broad bosom of the Mississippi; or Perez, when, carried forward by the same ardour, he preceded by more than a century the exploit of Bruce; or those generous bands of young warriors who pressed forward from the schools and novitiates of Europe, to fill up the ranks which torture or pestilence had thinned at the extremity of the earth. Or, if all these were slaves,

where was fostered that ambition for universal sway of which we are told so much? Whence came that power which we are told held kings in its grasp, and Pontiffs in leading strings? These were only the ravings of men who hated as much the humility of obedience as the exaltation of the Gospel, and in turn blasphemed both. 'You are all the same,' was repeated a thousand times, if a questionable proposition was found in one of the many thousand writers of the Society. They forgot this principle when reminded of the saints the Society had produced. It is enough to say here that the human will is perfected by obedience, because then only has it perfect sway over the passions which precede and too often overwhelm it when it has been trained by control, and no control worthy of rational beings could render impossible the faults of individuals. It is impossible to doubt that there may have been many great faults committed by individual members of the Society, and that there will be many more. We shall later have to speak of Lavalette as an example; but that is not the question. If the union of all heretics against the Society is a testimony which cannot be misunderstood, if men are to be believed when they write their secret thoughts to their most intimate friends, or when they bear unconscious testimony against themselves; if the persevering action of a party during a hundred and fifty years can be rightly attributed to the known principles of that party; if the unanimous voice of the purest souls that the Church has produced during three centuries deserves to be taken into account; if the pastors of the Church are to be believed when they speak with united voice of what they can best know to be for the good or detriment of their flocks; finally, if universal good repute among the faithful, and patience in persecution, and resignation to God's will in the most terrible adversity, is a sign of

virtue, then all candid men must acknowledge that the Society was innocent of the crimes attributed to it, and is not what heretics have at all times affirmed it to be. If any one is shocked that there are faults at all in a body of men called to a life of perfection, he must comfort himself with the thought that perfection belongs to the next life and not to this. But it has been the opinion of keen observers of human nature, that the greatest sin of the Society, that, I mean, which most of all raised up an outcry against it, was its success. The influence it acquired has been attributed by its enemies to ambition. It would have been more just to consider whether the principles of virtue contained in the Institute, and the rules of conduct there prescribed, drawn from the holiest maxims of the Gospel and the wisest principles of human nature, would not have given influence to any body of men who observed them; instead of having recourse to the assumption of selfish ambition, which must have defeated itself. He who uttered those memorable words: 'The finger of God is here,' before ambition or avarice could have entered into the heart of a Jesuit was of this opinion; and the greatest minds in the Church have endorsed it. St. Ignatius called his Society the least Society of Jesus. The time came when some called it a great society. If any of its members took pride in it for this, they in so far departed from the spirit of their founder. That there may have been such it would be a folly to question; that this was not the case with the generality, their conduct under trial is a sufficient proof; and Popes and saints have judged that whatever greatness the Society acquired was due to its observance of the principles laid down in the Institute, principles which the Church has judged to be holy; and if it ever was great, it may be asserted, with little fear of contradiction, according to the truest test of real

greatness, that it was most so where ambition would least have served it—in its extinction.

When the eighteenth century had but completed half its course, the Society of Jesus comprised 22,787 men, divided into 39 provinces, occupying 24 professed houses, 669 colleges, 61 novitiates, 196 seminaries, 338 residences, and 223 missions. They enjoyed the esteem and love of the See of Rome, and the confidence of almost every Catholic Court in Europe, while the education of the greater portion of the youth of Christendom was intrusted with full confidence to their care. Everywhere the pastors of the Church applauded their labours, and bore testimony to their lives, and wherever they went they bore with them the hearts of the people among whom they had toiled. It is not in human nature that this could have been said, even for a day, of a body of men of whom such things were true as have been said of the Society. The reader will be convinced of this already, but he as yet knows little; and this was not a sudden popularity, sprung up as if by magic, due to some mighty effort or singular combination of events. It was the culmination of the gradual growth of two centuries, and can be explained by no hypothesis but one, that is, that the Society of Jesus was what it professed to be, a body of men formed for a special end, and, as far as human things permit, and making allowance for the faults of individuals, labouring with one heart and one soul to attain it, the sanctifying of their own souls and the salvation of their neighbour, by the practice of the Evangelical Counsels and the labours of the ministry, according to the spirit traced in the Constitutions of St. Ignatius. In the short space of about twenty years nothing remained of this mighty growth but scattered limbs lopped from their trunk. The axe had been laid

to the root, and nothing but a frail shoot remained of a tree that had covered the earth. Colleges of the Society, raised with princely zeal and munificence to give a Christian education to the generation that was to follow, were turned into barracks to house the troops with which revolution had filled Europe, or hospitals, wherein to repair the ravages of war. The missions of the Society were handed over to others, too often to fall into decay, till scarce a trace of a once flourishing Christianity is to be seen. In some cases, as in the English College at Bruges, dragoons vainly endeavoured to enforce discipline, after the Fathers had been carried away prisoners. But where, it will be asked, were the Jesuits themselves? They were crowding the dungeons of the Tagus, in the patient endurance of a long and loathsome captivity; or, stripped of their habit, deprived of the name they so loved, they were still spending their forces in privation, amid strangers, catechizing, instructing, preaching and confessing, assisting the sick and the poor, no longer Jesuits, but more than ever imitating Jesus Christ, and spreading around them the odour of holy lives and Apostolic zeal. Many of our own generation have witnessed this and can bear testimony to it. It cannot be contradicted. 'The Jesuits are everywhere in esteem in France,' wrote Azara to his friend Roda, in January, 1768, two years after they had been suppressed in that country as corrupters of youths and enemies of the State.[21] It is of one of these reviled Jesuits that the Abbé Barruel[22] writes as follows: 'M. Nolhac, formerly Rector of the College of Toulouse, had been thirty years curé of the parish of St. Symphorien, which he had chosen by preference,

[21] *El Espiritu de D. José N. do Azara en su correspondencia epistolar*, p. 5. Madrid, 1846.

[22] *Storia del Clero Francese durante la Rivoluzione*, vol. i. p. 150. Venezia, 1799.

because it was the parish of the poor. . . . The father and refuge of all the afflicted, the counsellor and friend of all honest citizens, he had refused every entreaty to leave the town after the arrival of the Jacobins, the bandits of Jourdan. He could never resolve to leave his parishioners deprived of their pastor during the first troubles of the schism, and much less deprived of the consolations of religion under the tyranny of the bandits. . . . Every day he was to be found before dawn at prayer and the meditation of the holy mysteries, daily visiting the sick and the poor, never leaving them till he had given them the consolations of religion and the temporal assistance which the confidence of the faithful multiplied in his hands. Always poor for himself and rich for others, it was time to consummate the sacrifice of a life all for charity, all for God. M. Nolhac, whose holiness had been hitherto respected even by the bandits themselves, was shut up in the castle the eve of the day on which the six hundred were to be massacred. His appearance was for these unfortunate beings that of a consoling angel. His first words were those of an apostle of souls sent to prepare them to appear before the Judge of the living and the dead: 'I am come to die with you, my children. The moments are precious; to-morrow, perhaps, we shall no longer be of this world. Come, let us dispose ourselves by a sincere repentance to be happy in another; let me not lose one of your souls.' . . . From the interior of the prison M. Nolhac exhorted, embraced, and encouraged the unfortunate victims as they were summoned (to death). He had the happiness to be the last, so as not to appear before his God till after the six hundred, who went to heaven bearing the tidings of his heroic zeal and of his unalterable constancy. Nolhac was a Jesuit.'

It is just to remind my readers that Barruel too had belonged to this proscribed Society, but the facts that he states belong to history. If there had been no other proof of the innocence of the Jesuits, their conduct under the hardships of the suppression would suffice to convince any thinking men. Ambitious, political, avaricious men, men who systematically sought themselves, who lived in hypocrisy on the fat of the land under the feigned garb of an austere and devoted life, would not have exhibited the patience under oppression, the resignation under suffering, the humility, the peace of heart and confidence in God which everywhere marked the tearing away of these Fathers from all that was dear to them. None but those whose consciences bore testimony to their innocence could have shown that confident simplicity which refused to believe in danger, till their College was surrounded with guards, and they were summoned to hear the royal warrant of their banishment read by an officer of State in their own refectory. Those were good consciences that could sleep in security when the town was filled with the rumours of an impending catastrophe. It was a strange commerce that they exercised which could be suddenly cut short at the sound of a bell, without warning, without giving time for a word, an entry in a book, or a payment, and yet was everywhere in perfect order, so as to produce no confusion, no ruin of creditors, no demands for compensation. Does not this alone prove the falseness of all those accusations of commercial transactions, and of the fleets that bore the merchandise of the Jesuits to the marts of the New World? 'Vidi Jesuitas, non sum ego Jesuita,'[23] wrote an English Father from Rome after the arrival of the exiled Fathers from Brazil, cast like useless stores on the coast of Italy. He describes

[23] Archives of English Province.

his feelings at the sight of these venerable men, broken down with age, with labours, and with hardships suffered on the voyage, from whom not a word of complaint or impatience escaped. After having described the almost incredible sufferings they had endured in close confinement during the many months they had been kept on board, which I shall have to speak of later, he writes: 'After my first visit to these good men, I found at the bottom of the stairs a poor old blind Father, who had not been able to go up. He had been many years Provincial, and had filled several other important posts. But now he was so accustomed to misery, that it was some time before I could persuade him that he was not in prison, though he said he was very willing to go into it if there should be one. A kind of gown he had on over his cassock was so clogged with tar and filth, that it had grown into a hard lump, and it was with great difficulty that I was able to separate it and make it reach his heels.' He then tells us that the only treasure this good man had in the little bundle which he carried, which represented all his earthly possessions, consisted in two cotton handkerchiefs, an ivory crucifix, a common horn fork and spoon, a tin snuff-box, and a few scraps of cheese, which he had reserved for a day of greater misery; and these were men who had made the wilderness ring with the name of Jesus Christ, who had raised up a happy Christian people in the place of howling savages, and whose only crime was to have resisted the deluge of Portuguese rapine and licence which set so constantly on the shores of that unhappy country.

It has been said that the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France was a thing of accident. Nothing could be further from the truth. It was no more a thing of accident than is the bursting of a thunder-cloud that has been slowly

and silently gathering on a summer's day, unseen by many, but certain and inevitable in its course. So it was at that time in France.

The enemies of the Society, as we shall see, had long been gathering, but they thought its phalanxes too strong. It was a trifle that gave a pretext in that country, but their ruin had already been decreed. It was a contract between profligacy and heresy. Madame de Pompadour sold the Society to the Jansenists. Of this we shall speak another time. The first blow had already been struck, and where least of all it might have been expected—in the land of the Society's greatest development, the country that had sent it to its first and greatest conquests, under whose government it had reaped its greatest renown. To effect this was needed a man of specious design, of reckless audacity, and unscrupulous purpose. That man was Carvalho. The volume before us will explain to the reader how this great event, so important in its consequences, so wide in its effects, was realized by the ambition and avarice of this man. The Society has been accused of calumniating him. I have to ask the reader to judge him, not by any testimony I may have to bring from writers of the Society, but by his own official words, his published documents, and notorious acts. They form the substance of my story, and the groundwork of whatever severe expressions are found in this volume. In addition, I have brought well known witnesses from various parties who add their testimony to the character I have attributed to him, and to the innocence of the Society of the crimes imputed to it. The reader will judge of their value for himself. The writers of the Society whom I shall quote serve only to throw additional light on a picture the main outlines of which are already clearly visible. The details have been filled in chiefly from three well known contemporary works, the

names of the authors of which, I regret to say, have not reached us. Lest the reader should think this circumstance a sign of their want of authority, I must remind him that at a period when Papal Briefs were burned publicly by orders of the Parliament of Paris, when no printer dared put his name to a work written in opposition to Jansenism and infidelity, it is not surprising if the most respected authors hid themselves behind a screen and looked on while the storm raged against an unknown pen. Never perhaps since the Church first issued from the catacombs could its enemies have more truly been addressed with these words, *Hæc est hora vestra;* never perhaps, to those of little faith, did the powers of darkness seem to be nearer to their triumph.

The works to which I refer, are, in the first place *The Life of Sebastian Joseph Carvalho.* This was written after his disgrace, but before his death. His friends about the Court of Mary exerted every effort to procure its suppression, but the Queen constantly refused to order it, and only consented at length so far as to forbid a second edition. Many of his victims were still alive to attest to the truth of the history. A second work is the *Compendium* of the *History of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal.* It was written about the same time, and agrees with the life in all important points. The third is entitled *Anecdotes of the Ministry of the Marquis of Pombal.* It was written in French, and is attributed to Father Kaulen, for many years a prisoner in the fortress of St. Julian. This work, as the Portuguese translation before me tells us, was revised and verified by orders from the Throne of Portugal. I have endeavoured as far as was possible to cite original authors, but where this has not been possible, I have, with the exception of one or two well known passages, given at the foot of the page the work from which I have drawn my quotations.

The Catholic reader will be grieved to see the names of several ecclesiastics even of high position taking part in the injustice of which I am about to speak. Such grief must fill all those who feel for the Church the love that children owe to their mother, but there is nothing here that ought to surprise them. Priests and Religious unfaithful to their calling have at all times been one of the scourges by which God has allowed His Church to be afflicted. We have only to remember that Arius was a priest, Nestorius a patriarch, and Judas an Apostle. The miserable sin of one disciple did not make the eleven less dear to the Divine Heart, or the institutions of Jesus Christ less holy. The abandonment of duty of a few does not diminish the purity of the Church, which does not depend on them for its holiness, but would have imparted sanctity to them if they had not refused its influence. It will be observed, too, that those ecclesiastics who make so sad a figure in the following pages, with a few notorious exceptions, were not robbers who came to steal and destroy the flock, nor even hirelings who sought only to enrich themselves, but shepherds who had not weighed well the charge they had taken in hand, whose hearts sunk when they were brought face to face with a danger they had not thought of, and had to meet a tyrant whom no one had yet resisted with impunity. We have here one scene more of the struggle which the Church is ever maintaining against the world, and as I shall notice later, one lesson more to teach us the evil which arises, when statesmen endeavour to force upon the Church men whom its wisdom would reject as unworthy of the sanctuary.

A. W.

Fiesole, Feast of the Most Precious Blood,
July 1, 1877.

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CHAPTER I.

Sebastian Joseph Carvalho.

The death of John V. on July 31, 1750, placed his son Joseph I. on the throne of Portugal. It was a critical moment for the country. The long sickness of the late King had thrown public business greatly in arrears. A short time before this, death had deprived him of his two most active Secretaries of State, Marco Antonio d'Azevedo, and D. Antonio Guedes de Miranda. Nevertheless, ill and paralyzed in his limbs as he was, John V. had continued to transact all the business of the State himself, with the help of only one Secretary, Pedro de Motta, himself broken down with infirmities and age. John was a wise prince, and possessed in a high degree that quality so important in a king, a keen discernment of character and a thorough knowledge of the men around him, a quality which, as we shall see, was lamentably wanting in his successor. Endowed with this penetration of mind, with a clear head for business, just and religious, zealous for the cause of the Church to a degree which had merited for him from the Holy See the title of *Fidelissimo*, he lacked during the illness of his last years that strength of body and energy of mind which were necessary to maintain the dignity of his crown, and develope the resources of his extensive States. The consequence of this was a general inactivity in all departments of the Government. The treasury was filled with money, but the spirit of enterprize seemed to have died away. Navigation languished, the commerce of the country was in the hands of strangers, and a general lethargy pervaded everything, so that even in the army not a single promotion had been made for fifteen years.

According to the etiquette of the Portuguese Court, the obsequies of the deceased monarch entailed heavy duties of a formal character on the Secretaries of State. Pedro de Motta excused himself, on account of his age and the state of his health, which rendered him unequal to the fatigue of a solemn State ceremony. The moment was a favourable one for any one seeking for employment in the business of the State. It was this moment which decided the fate of Portugal, and, as we shall see, of other far wider interests. It was seized by the Queen-mother, Doña Marianna of Austria, to present to the young King her protegé, Sebastian Joseph Carvalho, afterwards Count of Oeiras and Marquis of Pombal, who now began his career as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. As he was to sway the destinies of Portugal for the long space of twenty-seven years, and as it is mainly to him that the chief events I am about to describe, relating to Portugal and its dependencies, are due for their conception and their execution, it is necessary to glance briefly at the earlier years of so remarkable a man, of whom the Count de Saint Priest says, 'Pombal was not a great man, but certainly never was there a greater Minister in a little State.'[1] He was a great Minister indeed, if the destruction of every power in the State except his own, and the carrying out of his own personal ends through violence and bloodshed, with a hand that faltered at no consequences, can earn him that title. We shall see the verdict passed on him by his own countrymen, while the blood he had spilt was still fresh, and the dungeons still crowded with his victims.

Sebastian Joseph Carvalho was the son of Emmanuel de Carvalho, a gentleman of small fortune, of Soure, in the district of Coimbra, and Teresa de Mendoza, a lady illustrious no less for her birth than for her many personal gifts. He was born in 1699, and after an education suited to his condition, entered on the study of the law at the University of Coimbra. But finding the application and restraint of such a career uncongenial to his inclinations, he threw up his studies

[1] *Chute des Jesuites*, p. 10.

and entered the army, hoping with the assistance of his paternal uncle, Paul de Carvalho, Canon of the Royal Chapel, to satisfy his thirst for honours. It would be difficult to picture to oneself a youth endowed with greater advantages for a career of arms. All but gigantic in stature, of noble bearing, powerful beyond the average of men, bold even to recklessness, he had every reason to look for rapid advancement. Nevertheless, in a general promotion which took place in 1735, he was entirely passed over. Disgusted by his disappointment, he threw up his rank in the army and retired to Soure, to console his thwarted ambition amid the peaceful occupations of rural life. But his spirit was too restless long to enjoy the repose of the country, and we soon find him back in Lisbon, where his uncle, reluctantly it is said, endeavoured to procure him some employment through the influence of Cardinal de Motta. There can be little doubt that Paul de Carvalho early saw into the character of his nephew. He used to say that of the three sons of Emmanuel, the two younger, Francis Xavier Mendoza, who was afterwards Governor of Maranhão, and Paul, who died a Cardinal, could give little trouble, on account of their want of capacity, but Sebastian was capable of some very rash enterprize. The character of this man is described by every one who has written of the history of the eighteenth century. The picture is a dark one. It is that of an insatiable ambition throughout life, a cringing vileness in adversity, a shameless hypocrisy when it served him in his way to power, and, when he had gained power, a reckless violence, even to the sacrifice of every right, to secure his own end. Wanting in delicacy of perception, he still showed a great power in turning occasions to his purpose; his public acts exhibit many singular blunders, while he nevertheless made many wise and advantageous laws, and, had his intentions been upright and his conduct more moderate, he might have given Portugal once more a high place among nations. Often he seemed not to see the consequences of his acts, but when his anger was roused and his passion for power brought into action, he was as reckless as a wild beast is of blood in the means he took to gain his purpose and to

gratify his revenge. His talents developed with his opportunities, and his ambition and vindictiveness grew with the exercise of power. Crétineau-Joly tells us that he 'wanted neither energy nor administrative talents,' but adds that 'his energy often degenerated into violence, and that more often still the vigour of his mind was clouded by hypocritical manœuvres, by an unbridled avarice, and by a jealous anger, which carried a character like his into paths of blood. Proud, despotic, vindictive, according to this writer, he could never do good except hatchet in hand.'[2] The Count de Saint Priest warns us not to believe either his enemies or his apologists, but gives his own impartial testimony that 'his cruelty, his jealousy, his avarice, cast too dense a shadow over his courage, his patience, and his indefatigable energy. . . . His character,' he adds, 'viewed as a whole, and seen from a distance, far from contemporary prejudices, looms with a sort of imposing though brutal grandeur, which shone forth in one memorable instance.'[3] The same writer says elsewhere—

> There was nothing in common between the heavy, vindictive Portuguese, and the brilliant, light, and graceful Minister of Louis XV. Choiseul never applauded the proceedings of Pombal. He spoke of them with coldness, often with contempt. His rudeness seemed to him coarse, his self-assertion out of place, his audacity impertinent. He often used to joke about it with Prince de Kautniz. This man, they used to say, has always got a Jesuit riding on his nose. Whether as Minister or as royal favourite, but still more as a nobleman, the Duke rejected all comparison with the upstart Marquis. Everything in Pombal shocked Choiseul. He found him unjust and cruel, and what was worse, of bad taste.[4]

We shall see later the point of contact, where these two characters, so opposed in nature, became of one heart and one soul; but I must not omit to record here the verdict of the Abbé Garnier, in his funeral oration on Joseph I.—

> Who could have believed [he says] that a single man, by abusing the confidence and authority of a good king, could have

[2] *Hist. de la Comp. de Jesus*, vol. v. p. 123.
[3] *Chute des Jesuites*, pp. 10, 15. [4] *Ibid.* p. 33.

been able, for the space of twenty years, to chain every tongue, to close every mouth, to repress every heart, to hold truth captive, to make calumny triumph, to destroy all justice, to cause iniquity and barbarity to be respected, and to enslave public opinion from one end of Europe to the other?[5]

On the occasion of the proclamation of the Infanta Maria as Queen of Portugal, on May 13, 1777, but a few weeks after the rod had fallen from the hand of the despot who was now in exile on his estate at Pombal, Francis Coelho de Silva, Councillor of State, spoke as follows in presence of all the foreign ambassadors, the highest nobility in the land, and a great multitude of people: 'The heart of Portugal is still bleeding from the wounds inflicted on it by that blind and unbridled despot whom till now we have endured. He was the systematic enemy of humanity and religion, of liberty, of merit, and of virtue.' On the same occasion it was proved by judicial examination that the number of persons whom he had put to death, shut up in fortresses, or banished to distant exile, amounted to nine thousand six hundred and forty, of whom three thousand nine hundred and seventy were found to be entirely innocent.[6]

The reader must keep this picture before his eye, when he reads of the zeal with which this Minister was animated for the perfect observance of the Institute of St. Ignatius, and remember that his only reproach against the Society was that it did not live up to the perfect spirit of its holy rule.

In 1739, Carvalho married Doña Teresa de Noronha Almada, daughter of Bernard de Noronha, and in the same year had the good fortune to be sent to London in capacity of Extraordinary Envoy. The mission proved a failure, so that we hardly find his name mentioned in a single document belonging to that period. He took advantage, however, of his leisure and increased means, to throw himself heartily into the pleasures of London society. Though his stay in England was void of political results, there can be little doubt it had

[5] Dallas, *Nouvelle Conspiration*, p. 122.
[6] *Vita di Pombal*, vol. v. p. 159.

a marked influence on his character, and consequently on his future. In his own country he was looked on with disdain by the nobility; here he was received freely amongst the aristocracy, 'who,' says Count de Saint Priest, 'would certainly have opened their ranks to him had he been born an Englishman.'[7] The material prosperity of England made a great impression on him. He contrasted the commercial activity, the spirit of enterprize and national development, which he saw on every side, with the slumbering inactivity of his own country. Here too, it is said, he conceived a hatred of the Church of Rome, of religious orders, and in particular of the Society of Jesus: sentiments not unlikely to be imbibed by an innovating and rebellious spirit from contact with English society of that day. We may believe then that here his resentment against the aristocracy of his country took deeper root, that the vast ideas of regenerating Portugal, which are seen in so many of his acts, are in part at least the reflex of what he saw here, and that the spirit of schism, the idea of a national Church, and his hatred of the Society, were at least encouraged in their development by his contact with English thought. The deaths of his uncle, Paul de Carvalho, and of Cardinal de Motta, on whose influence he mainly relied, taking place in 1748, and the King having no liking for him, he was recalled to Lisbon in that year, and was again without employment. But a dispute having arisen between the Holy See and the the Court of Vienna, on account of the suppression of the Patriarchate of Aquileja, and the Pope, to settle the question amicably between the Courts of Austria and Venice, having called in the mediation of the Queen of Portugal, Marianna of Austria, she, as regent of Portugal during the illness of the King, sent Carvalho to Vienna to transact the business with the Empress.

The air of Vienna was not more favourable to his development as a diplomatist than that of London had been. His power of conversation at first gave him advantages and enabled him to gain friends. But, whether on account of his precipi-

[7] *Chute des Jesuites*, p. 12.

tate nature, of the selfishness of his character, which prevented his taking a real interest in what led only by lengthened paths to his own advancement, or of his want of any refinement of mind and respect for others, so necessary in the intercourse between the agents of Courts, he quite failed in the business for which he was sent. The King could not conceal his dislike for him; and, when hearing his letters read to him, would break off with impatience, saying, 'I cannot endure this tedious writing.' Carvalho was well aware of these sentiments, for the King's letters to him were short and cutting, and he once complained to Marco Antonio d'Azevedo, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that it was very hard to receive nothing but bitter reprehensions from the King without knowing the reason. 'How much better for me to be back again at Soure living upon common maize bread with the good country people, than as a miserable envoy in this Court without honour and without public character!'

Though he failed as a diplomatist, he found his fortune in Vienna in another way. Having lost his wife some time previously, he asked the hand of the Countess Dahun, daughter of the Marshal of that name. The parents of the lady were not satisfied with his rank, and it was in vain that the Portuguese Ambassador bore witness to his birth. Sebastian appealed to the Queen, who replied that his family was really noble. So high an authority had the effect he desired, and being soon after recalled to Portugal, he consoled himself with the prospect of the Queen's patronage, owing to her strong attachment to the young Countess. It is at this epoch we begin to see a feature of his character which had not hitherto attracted attention. Carvalho was close on fifty years of age, and his ambition had so far been disappointed. The King was averse to giving him employment, and there seemed every prospect of his passing the remainder of his life without distinction. He now began to use more equivocal means, in the hopes of finding some one who would plead his cause with the King. Among the reli-

gious who had the confidence and esteem of the monarch, was Fra Gaspero da Incarnação, a Recollect, a man of great interior piety and universal repute. To him, then, he began to attach himself, visiting him frequently, kissing his hand whenever he met him, standing in an attitude of reverence when speaking to him, and using every means to display his respect for his religious character. But it was with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus at Court, as confessors of the royal family, that his game chiefly lay. To judge by his conduct in their regard, the Society had no greater friend in Portugal than Sebastian Joseph Carvalho. He was loud in his expressions of admiration of the Order, and incessant in his demonstrations of attention. His little child was dressed in the Society's habit and paraded as a young 'Apostle.'[8] According to Count de Saint Priest, he himself became a tertiary of the Society; but the truth is probably that he entered the third Order of St. Francis, as the Society has no tertiaries. He always spoke of himself as a *great Jesuit*,[9] and, when Father Carboni was dying in April, 1750—a man so dear to the King that at his death no one dared tell his Majesty of the news—Carvalho used to hang for hours about the antechamber of the sick room, asking every one that came out, with tears, as to the prospects of the life of the patient.[10] By means of these manœuvres, he completely satisfied the Fathers of his affection for the Society, and in particular acquired the confidence and esteem of Father Joseph Moreira, confessor of Don Pedro, the Prince of Brazil, and Father Francis Portogallo, son of the Marquis of Valenza, who endeavoured to remove what they believed to be a prejudice of the King against a very worthy man. The Queen had already asked Father Carboni to intercede with the King in his favour, but the answer was that he had been employed in two Courts and had shown nothing but a difficult and restless spirit, and that he would never have him in the Ministry; besides, he

[8] The name given to the Society in Portugal.

[9] The Italian from which I take this has *Gesuitone*.

[10] *Vita di Pombal*, vol. i. pp. 20—22.

belonged to a vindictive and cruel family.[11] One day the King was complaining to the Marquis of Valenza of the little assistance he had in the business of Government, upon which the Marquis replied: 'If your Majesty will not be offended, I would say there are many of your Majesty's subjects who would serve you with the fidelity you wish for. Several persons occur to me who I think would meet your Majesty's views.' 'Name one,' replied the King. 'The first whom I think of, not to speak of others,' answered the Marquis, 'is Sebastian Joseph Carvalho, who has already had the honour of serving your Majesty in several employments.' 'Don't name that man,' interrupted the King, 'you don't know him, Marquis: "he has hairs in his heart."[12] I am not going to have my kingdom in an uproar in order to give him something to do.'[13]

The accession of the new King completed his fortune, as his marriage with the Countess Dahun began it. The Queen-mother being sincerely attached to this lady, Carvalho found a powerful advocate with the new monarch, and the Countess never ceased to importune her Majesty to obtain an honourable employment for her husband. The opportune moment arrived, and she obtained for him, as we have seen, the important position of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Joseph I. united all those points of character which were calculated to make him a tool in the hands of a man who had audacity to assume the command, and astuteness to represent himself as a most humble and most faithful servant. Timid and weak, like Louis XV., he was easily filled with fears for the safety of his own person, and, to a degree never reached by the French King, incapable of exerting his own will, when advised by one who had succeeded in gaining

[11] *Compendio Istorico dell' Espulsione dei Gesuiti*, p. 78. The author of the Life says that in the parish of Oeiras, where the family of Carvalho had their lands, there was a pious legacy, the condition of which was that three *Paters* should be said after Mass to obtain deliverance from the cruelty of the Carvalho family (*Vita di Pombal*, vol. i. p. 109).

[12] A proverb indicating a cruel vindictive character.

[13] *Vita di Pombal*, vol. i. p. 23.

his confidence. To this mental weakness he also added the lamentable failing of being a slave to his own voluptuous passions. It required then but little insight into human nature to see that a terrible scourge was in store for Portugal. To the evil of misrule it pleased God to add other dreadful calamities, which together overwhelmed the whole country in misery that cannot be described.

The first steps of the new Minister were no more successful than his management of affairs in London and Vienna had been. His want of the manners of a Court and his neglect of the respect due to the foreign Ministers were so great, that, on their representation, after a few months of trial, he was summarily dismissed as inefficient, and again found himself in dishonour and without employment. Here, however, the weakness of the King and his own abject hypocrisy served him well. The King had the highest confidence in his confessor, Father Joseph Moreira, a man of holy life, who had been recommended to the late King by Father Carboni. John V., however, used to say to this last-named Father, 'Dear Carboni, this time you have been deceived. I grant you Moreira is a learned and holy man, but not a man for a Court.' To him then Carvalho had recourse. He redoubled his exhibition of such sentiments as were likely to make an impression on a pious man, entreating him to speak to the King in his favour, and he condescended,[14] it is said, to go on his knees before the father's lay-brother, to induce him to add his intercession in his behalf. The result was all he could have desired. The Father went so far as to remonstrate with the King for 'depriving the monarchy of a Minister who perhaps surpassed in merit all the Ministers at that time found in Europe.' The King not only adopted the suggestion, but blindly accepted the Father's ideas as to the merits of Carvalho, and from that time began to look on him exactly as his confessor had represented him. Never was departure from the principles and rules of a religious state, or meddling with things outside the sphere of duty, more terribly punished.

[14] *Vita di Pombal*, vol. i. p. 29.

It does not belong to my purpose to describe the administrative measures of the new Minister. Certain it is that a great revival of activity took place in all departments of the State. Commerce received a new impulse. The navy was developed. Pirates were repressed, fortresses built or repaired on the frontier, and the colonies encouraged. But these beneficial measures were mixed up with others as ruinous as they were strange. The concession of the monopoly of the rich commerce of India and China to Feliciano Velho Oldenbourg, under the pretence of a company which was centred in himself, caused immediate ruin to many families who had hitherto derived their prosperity from this profitable traffic. A similar effect was produced by the famous company of Maranhão, in which special privileges and monopolies with State assistance were granted to a very small number of persons, in such manner however as to bring great pecuniary advantage to the Minister himself. Even in his wisest acts there appeared an inconstancy so great that it has been said of him that in two things only was he always the same, always consistent with himself—in his avarice and in his revenge.

The death of the Queen-mother in 1754 was a great loss to Portugal. She had been the means of raising Carvalho to power, but she bitterly repented of it, and warned the Society to be on their guard. As long as she lived she exercised a salutary influence on the King, who used frequently to consult her before he would follow the advice of the Minister. But, this influence once removed, Carvalho found the means of so insinuating himself into the confidence of the King, and acting in such a degree upon his fears, that Joseph never took a step in business, however trifling it might be, without his advice. To gain this ascendency and at the same time to humble his rivals, the Minister would inspire him with suspicions of the fidelity of the nobles, at the same time assuring him that he was ready to shed the last drop of his blood in his service. His Majesty was to recollect that he had to govern a volatile people: the nobles were too powerful: many of them had too great pretensions, owing to their relationship with the

royal house: there was no knowing of what steps they were not capable. To confirm these insidious suggestions, he made use of the well known popularity of Don Pedro, the King's brother, Prince of Brazil. He whispered into his Majesty's ear that he himself was not a favourite with the people because he had no male issue, but that Don Pedro was the object of their love. Every one who paid special respect to Don Pedro was marked, and Carvalho was on the watch to turn to evil account whatever circumstances could tend to foster the jealousy of the King and his confidence in his own fidelity.[15]

After the death of Pedro de Motta, at the beginning of 1756, Carvalho was promoted to the office of Prime Minister on May 5 of that year, and Luiz da Cunha was called from England and made Minister of Foreign Affairs in his place. He had now gained the highest post in the kingdom, after that of the sovereign, and had already learned the secret of wielding even the royal authority. 'Having attained unlimited power,' says Saint Priest,[16] 'he thought only of carrying out his two great projects, the humiliation of the aristocracy and the expulsion of the Jesuits.'

As it is not my intention to write a life of this Minister, I shall not attempt to depict the course of capricious tyranny upon which he entered, as soon as he had secured for himself the confidence of the King. It is a series of depositions from office, confiscations of property, imprisonments even of the most honourable and respected men, nobles, ecclesiastics, and religious, who suddenly disappeared from view, and were heard of only from a dungeon or a fortress in Africa. Numberless were the complaints made to the King at the beginning of his career, but all reproaches were met by such an appeal as this: 'See, sire, what a height iniquity has reached, they want to take me from your service, because they see that I am too attached to your royal person; but they shall not succeed. I will be faithful to you. This is the wickedness of the Pedroites, these are their designs, but they are vain.'[17] It is easy to understand

[15] *Vita di Pombal*, vol. i. p. 89.
[16] *Chute des Jesuites*, p. 16. [17] *Vita di Pombal*, vol. i. p. 113.

that a universal terror prevailed; and to add colour of justice to the cruelties that were practised, the King was kept in constant alarm of pretended conspiracies, and was made to believe that he had not a faithful subject except Carvalho. For a time the Minister observed the forms of law. But, finding this too great a restraint, he by degrees took everything into his own hands, deciding everything himself, without information, without testimonies, without proof. He condemned whomsoever he thought proper, and presented to the timid and terrified King sentences which he himself had dictated, as if they had been pronounced by a legitimate judge.[18] 'He did not try to lisp the word liberty,' says the Count de Saint Priest, 'but proclaimed civilization to be the legitimate daughter of despotism.'[19] The same writer tells us that the displeasure shown by the nobility at his marriage with a lady of the *sangue azul*, made him 'vow from the depths of his soul the ruin of those to whom he could not assimilate himself,'[20] and that already when in London he had 'resolved to be either the equal or the oppressor of the great, the master of his King, and the reformer of his country.'[21] 'Assiduous in his attentions to Joseph, he did not oppress him with obsequious adulation, but he made him tremble for his days.'[22] The same writer, whose words I quote as being a witness beyond suspicion on this point, on account of his prejudice against the Society, and the favour with which he views the career of Carvalho, tells us that having set his heart on marrying his son to a young lady of the house of Tavora, he opened his mind on this subject to a monk of that family. The religious, who was much more a Tavora than a courtier, replied with simplicity, 'Your Excellency looks very high.' 'From this moment,' says the author, 'the scaffold of the great was erected in the mind of Pombal.'[23] To keep the eyes of the King more securely closed, and to shield himself from the light which in the ordinary course must inevitably be thrown on his tyranny, he represented to the King the danger he was in from calumny on account of his opposition to designs

[18] *Anecdotas do ministerio do Marquez de Pombal*, vol. i. p. 13. Porto, 1852.
[19] P. 14. [20] P. 11. [21] P. 12. [22] P. 13. [23] P. 19.

against his Majesty's sacred person, and begged him, as he had already had such proofs of his fidelity, to inform him of anything that should be said against him, as he was quite certain he would be able to repel the calumny. The King promised to do so, and from this time whoever dared to denounce the conduct of the Minister had sad reason to repent of it in the severe chastisement he never failed to experience. The consequence was that the King heard no more complaints, and the last hope of relief being removed, the evil became irremediable.

It has often been asked, What was the original cause of Carvalho's hatred for the Society of Jesus? Probably several causes acted together in an ambitious and revengeful nature too little imbued with those principles which would have taught him to set justice above all other considerations; but they may all be reduced to one. The Society was an obstacle to his designs. I have alluded to the opinions which he may have acquired in England. It cannot be doubted that he had there imbibed a dislike to the Holy See, so universal at that time in this country. It was not enough for him to humble the nobles, or even to usurp the authority of the weak and voluptuous King in whose name he acted. Obedience to the Holy See was an insupportable yoke to him, and he saw no real independence till he could emancipate himself from it. He aimed, in fact, at nothing less than the attainment for himself of the character of a Reformer, and the establishment of a national and schismatical Church on the model of that to which the Jansenists were then struggling to reduce the Church of France. To this project the Jesuits were an obstacle. They had the confidence of the King and of all classes of the population; they had the education of the youth in their hands, and were staunch supporters of the authority of the Holy See. The so-called philosophers of France and the Jansenists were both labouring hard at the destruction of the Society. Though himself no friend of either of these parties, Carvalho was one with them in their final aim, and must be looked upon as the principal agent in bringing about the

result for which both parties were striving, each for its own purpose. But the hypocrisy, the arrogance, the savage violence with which he accomplished his design, excited the horror of the infidels themselves. On the subject of his hostility to the See of Rome, no better authority can be desired than that of Cardinal Pacca, whose period of Nunciature in Lisbon following shortly after the close of the administration of Carvalho, gave him a good opportunity of studying its results and the spirit that had guided it. The testimony of this writer is so valuable, both on account of the undoubted solidity of his judgment, and because he witnessed what he describes, that I shall introduce a rather lengthy extract from the account he has left us. He writes[24]—

He began his diplomatic career in Germany,[25] where he probably drank in those principles of aversion to the Holy See and the religious orders which, being afterwards put into practice, merited for him from the irreligious philosophers the title of a great Minister and an illuminator of his nation, but from the good that of a vile instrument of the sects at enmity with the Church.

Having obtained the office of Prime Minister, he made himself master of the mind of the King, Don Joseph, and for a quarter of a century governed the kingdom as a despot. . . . To make war against the Holy See and to oppress the clergy, he adopted those measures and used those arms which, employed dexterously by the irreligious men of our time, have hitherto done, and are still doing, so much mischief, and are inflicting such serious wounds on religion and on the Church. He corrupted and perverted public education in the schools and universities, especially in that of Coimbra, which soon became a seat of pestilence. He took from the hands of youth the works of sound doctrine hitherto used in instruction, and substituted others of schismatical and heretical tendency, and amongst these, Dupin[26] and the celebrated book of Hontheim, under the name of *Justinus Febronius*, lately con-

[24] *Notizie sul Portogallo*, p. 10. Dal Cardinale Bart. Pacca. Velletri, 1836.

[25] He adds, in a note at the end, that he does not speak of his mission to England, because he has found no notice regarding it.

[26] *De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina Diss. Hist.* Condemned by Innocent XII. anuary 22, 1688.

demned by the Holy See,[27] and by the greater part of the bishops in those places in which the secular power had not shut the mouths of the sacred pastors. He facilitated the introduction into Portugal of the works of the so-called regalist writers, and refused it to the works of those who supported the rights and authority of the Holy See. He would not allow a voice to be raised in defence of the Holy See; and to the horror of all the good, shut up in a dreadful prison a holy and venerable Bishop who had warned his flock not to approach those poisoned fountains.[28] He caused works in conformity with his principles to be published by flattering and mercenary writers, and especially by the too notorious Oratorian, Antony Pereira. This man published various writings, which, having been denounced to the Sacred Congregation of the Index, received the condemnation which they deserved. In these, with Jansenistical perfidy, he undertook to exalt the episcopal authority in order to lower the Pontifical primacy, and enlarged and extended the authority of the sovereigns in Church matters to such a degree that his doctrine differed little from the system of the Anglican Protestant Church.

Pacca concludes the passage with these words—

Mary I. having ascended the throne after the death of the King, Joseph I., improved the condition of the clergy, and the correspondence with the Holy See became more friendly, but she did not undo all that the Marquis of Pombal had done to injure it, allowing the continuance of a system of disguised Anglicanism.

Let us hear another witness. Theiner, whose sympathies are always in opposition to the Society of Jesus, bears testimony to the same fact; but he tells us what must seem very strange to any one who reflects on the order of events, that he tried to destroy the Church only as a means of destroying the Society. His words are worth quoting. Having remarked that the Society everywhere spoke of the attacks made against it as the signal of a war of extermination waged by the philosophers against the whole of Catholicism, he adds that 'this opinion was quite true, provided we take account

[27] *De Statu Ecclesia et legitima potestate Romani Pontificis.* Condemned by Clement XIII. February 29, 1764.

[28] Don Miguel da Annunciada, Bishop of Coimbra.

of another circumstance, that is, that in this struggle with the Jesuits, Pombal strove with such audacity against the Church, only because he was for ever tormented with the thought that the Jesuits, sustained by the influence of the Holy See, the episcopate, and the nobility of Portugal, would escape his vengeance, gain a victory over himself, and maintain themselves in the kingdom.'[29] But Theiner is here overreaching himself. The Jesuits were driven from Court, and even expelled the kingdom, before the Jansenistical reforms were begun, and when the Nuncio was driven away there was not a Jesuit out of prison in the kingdom. Still the evidence of this Minister's enmity to the Holy See is not changed by this. Theiner tells us still further, that 'Pombal, to free himself from the Jesuits, attempted nothing less than to separate Portugal from the Holy See, and to put the kingdom on the footing of the schismatical Church of Utrecht. For this end,' he adds, 'he addressed himself to the Jansenists of France, asking them to send him a manual of their errors, in order to introduce them into the theological teaching, and thus to banish the holy Catholic doctrine from the schools, the seminaries, and the universities.'[30] He tells us again, that 'Choiseul wrote in the name of Louis XV. to the King of Spain, pointing out the danger to that country if ever the Jansenism of Holland were introduced into Portugal, as might easily be the case, since the famous Father Norbert had received from the Court of Lisbon a pension with the order to compose a plan for facilitating the introduction of Jansenism into this kingdom and the expulsion of the Jesuits.'[31] There is no doubt, then, as to the intention of Carvalho to overthrow the Catholic Church in Portugal, and it is no less certain that he found the apostate friar, Norbert, a ready instrument in his warfare against the Society. But the construction which Theiner puts on his conduct is quite at variance with history. The last of the Jesuits sailed from the Tagus, as we shall see later, on January 6, 1760, whereas the expulsion

[29] *Storia del Pontificato di Clemente XIV.* vol. i. p. 38. Firenze, 1854.
[30] P. 35. [31] P. 37.

of Cardinal Accaijuoli, which was the commencement of the rupture with Rome, did not take place till June 15 of the same year.[32] How, then, could the breach with Rome be only a means of securing the expulsion of the Jesuits? It is, moreover, evident that before the Jansenistical teaching could be introduced into the schools, it was necessary to remove the Jesuits, as the schools were entirely in their hands. Theiner has turned the end into the means and the means into the end. But it is not difficult to guess the reason. It is all to sustain his theory, that it was the overwhelming influence and engrossing power of the Society which from the beginning of his career determined this Minister to overthrow them. But this overwhelming influence is not proved. It was the cry of Carvalho; but the reader will see that the influence possessed by the Society was no more than would naturally belong to a body of men whose learning, virtues, and labours endeared them to the nation. To have made their influence a plea for their destruction, he should have shown that it had been abused. We shall see later how completely he fails when he attempts to establish this.

The view I have given is fully confirmed by another well known writer of the beginning of this century.[33] Writing of the Marquis of Pombal, this author tells us that 'his design was to extend his reforms even into the bosom of the Church, to change, to destroy, to subject the bishops to his will, to declare himself the enemy of the Holy See, to protect authors hostile to the Church, and to encourage publications savouring of novelty, to favour in Portugal a theological instruction quite different from what had been adopted previous to his time; and, finally, to open the way to an illusive system of pernicious doctrine, in a country which up to that time had enjoyed religious peace. He did not, however,' he continues, 'at once manifest the whole of his intentions. At first

[32] Theiner erroneously places the ignominious expulsion of the Nuncio in 1759 (vol. i. p. 31).

[33] *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique du XVIIIme. Siècle,* vol. iv. p. 43. Italian Edition. Fuligno, 1825.

it seemed as if he wished only to dislodge the Jesuits; and here, as in France, these useful men were the first object of attack to the enemies of religion, and the first victims whom they prepared to immolate.' And this is the man, it may be here remarked, who expressed in his letters to Benedict XIV. so much pious grief that the Jesuits no longer lived up to the perfection of their rule. Never was a wicked design veiled by a baser hypocrisy. His aim was not to purify the Society, but to destroy it, and, with it, the throne of that very Pontiff before whom he presented himself in the garb of a devoted child. The reader will find abundant testimony in another volume that the Jesuits were assailed in France for no other purpose than to weaken the defences of the Church. According to the author just quoted, it was so in Portugal also. The opinion of this writer gives support to a rumour which the author of the Life of Pombal[34] tells us was generally current in Portugal, which the author of the *Memoria Catholica Secunda*[35] also speaks of as beyond doubt, and which is also supported by what has been published of the trial of Carvalho. It is said that he had formed the design of marrying the Princess Mary to the Duke of Cumberland, and that the opposition of the Jesuit confessor of the King to this union gave the first occasion to the determination of Carvalho to destroy the influence of the Society. It is easy to see what effect on the relations between Portugal and the Church such a marriage would have had. On this point the Marshal de Belle-Isle writes—'It is known that the Duke of Cumberland looked forward to becoming King of Portugal, and I doubt not but he would have succeeded, if the Jesuit confessors of the royal family had not been opposed to it. This is the crime they have never been able to pardon them.'[36]

But there were other motives at work besides. All writers bear witness to the insatiable avarice of the man. The fable circulated by a Portuguese gentlemen, named Gomez Pereira,

[34] *Vita di Pombal*, vol. i. p. 145. [35] Vol. i. p. 138.
[36] *Testament Politique*, p. 108.

living in Rio Janeiro, a man of excited imagination and rash enterprizes, that the Reductions of Paraguay contained untold treasures of gold and silver, suggested the policy of securing these provinces for the Portuguese crown on the condition of the cession to Spain of the rich colony of Sacramento, and led to a series of events which ended in the ruin of the missions and the expulsion of the Society from all the Portuguese possessions in America. An account of this must be reserved for another chapter. The Jesuits, too, were especially able to inform the King of the oppression committed by Francis Xavier Mendoza in Maranhãon; and as the King was accustomed to receive from the Fathers an annual report of the progress of religion, the Minister had reason to fear that he might have his eyes opened with regard to the true state of that colony. There can, moreover, be no doubt that the course of oppression and violence into which Carvalho quickly entered, made him feèl that the presence of the Fathers at Court was an obstacle to his plans, and his uncontrollable will led him to spare no one who crossed his path either to riches or to power.

All this is intelligible enough. But there is a letter written by Carvalho as Count of Oeiras, on June 20, 1767, to the Count da Cunha, which exhibits such a stretch of credulity that if Saint Priest had not admitted it seriously into his pages, and assured us of its authenticity, I could hardly have believed it to be other than the invention of some one who knew what effect the name of Jesuit had on this Minister's imagination. The letter is written in that heavy involved style which so wearied John V. I shall give a small piece of it for the diversion of the reader who is not ignorant with what eyes the Society of Jesus was regarded by Protestant England at that time. It becomes, moreover, particularly amusing when it is remembered that Carvalho himself had intrigued to introduce English influence into Portugal by the marriage of the Princess with the conqueror of Culloden, and that Saint Priest says of him, 'Opposed to England in words, he was always subject to it in fact,' and that it was even a tradition in the political world 'that his rhodomontades were often concocted

with the Cabinet of London, to serve as a veil to his condescensions.'[37] The passage is as follows—

Several certain and notorious facts have proved to his Majesty that the Jesuits have a perfect understanding with the English, whom it is now well known they have promised to introduce into all the territories which Portugal and Spain possess south of the line, having undertaken to contribute towards this project with all their power, by the employment of all their intrigues, which always consist in sowing fanaticism, to deceive the people by their hypocritical exterior, and to excite them against their legitimate sovereigns, under the false pretexts of religion and by the affectation of purely spiritual motives. What the English could undertake in conjunction with the Jesuits, is reduced to the three following heads. In the first place, the English would furnish the Jesuits with troops, arms, and ammunition; they would conceal the hands that dealt the blow, by clothing the soldiers with Jesuit frocks, as has often been done before, and the Court of London would say that all this was nothing but the effect of the immense power of the Jesuits, although the military power of the Jesuits is as feeble as it is chimerical, as we learned by experience in the last war which we were obliged to sustain in Paraguay, where an advanced guard, consisting of scarcely sixty Portuguese, defeated and put to flight a body of a thousand Indians armed by these monks : a fact which was so notorious that the Court of Madrid thanked our Court for this action of our troops by a formal despatch, dated September, 1754. . . . In the second hypothesis, the English, urged on by their insatiable greed, by the high opinion they have of the power and plots of the Jesuits, and the little account they make of our strength in those countries, will form the resolution of establishing themselves there. . . . As a third hypothesis, the English may also attack our possessions, openly declaring war on us, and taking as a pretext the numerous falsehoods and calumnies which the Jesuits have lately spread against us in the public papers which are daily circulated in London.[38]

Evidently the remark of the Prince of Kautniz, above referred to, was correct. We shall see later the account which Carvalho gives to Benedict XIV. of the power of the

[37] P. 34. [38] Appendix, p. 294.

Society in those countries, when he tells him that in a few years all the powers of Europe will be unable to break it, and describes the severe battles the Portuguese had to sustain against highly disciplined troops well placed in skilfully intrenched camps. When the reader has followed me a little further, these things will not surprise him. He will find no better illustration of the doctrine that the end justifies the means, even when that end is a wicked one, than in the acts of Sebastian Joseph Carvalho. Whatever his motives may have been, it is certain that he quickly forgot how much of his accession to power he owed to the Fathers, and began, by degrees at first, to undermine their influence with the King and destroy the esteem in which they were held by the people, so as at the same time to prepare the King to receive accusations against them, and to dispose the nation to look calmly on their overthrow. Before entering on this subject, I must ask the reader to accompany me to the New World, to consider the work the Society was doing in the remote regions of that continent.

CHAPTER II.

Paraguay.

It is difficult to dwell on the history of Paraguay without tears —tears of consolation at the sight of the rich harvest which has been gathered into the granaries of the Lord, tears of sadness at the thought that all this is no more, that the hand of the ravager has laid waste the garden in the wilderness, and that Christian nations have combined to destroy a work so glorious to Jesus Christ and so fruitful of eternal happiness to souls. Envy and malice have said their worst, and still the *Cristianesimo felice* of Muratori will ever express the verdict of civilized Europe on the Jesuit Mission of Paraguay. The distance of these countries from Europe made it so easy to misrepresent the Society in the conduct of its missions, that Paraguay became the stronghold of those who made it their business to calumniate it. This circumstance renders it necessary to dwell at some length upon it. This is not the place to give a history of those missions, but it is necessary to explain to the reader the origin of the accusations that have been brought against the Society on their account, and expose the pretexts which were made use of to justify their destruction.

The name of Paraguay has been applied in a wide sense to that vast region stretching from Brazil and the coast of the Atlantic on the east, to the foot of the Cordilleras on the west, and from the 15° to the 35° parallel of south latitude, and watered by the great river La Plata and its tributaries, the Paraguay, Uruguay, and Paranà, and their tributaries. St. Francis of Solano traversed these regions in the latter part of the sixteenth century, sowing the seeds of the Gospel, and everywhere

leaving the fragrance of his virtues in his path. But his Order had not subjects sufficient to supply the wants of so vast a mission, and the Society of Jesus was called in to carry on and extend the work. One of the first experiences of the missioners was that it was vain to hope for any permanent fruit among the Indians, unless they were separated from the evil influence of the Europeans, who swarmed into the New World, carrying with them all the vices of the Old, and adding to them the licentiousness and cruelty which the freedom of a new country and the hopes of speedy riches bring with them. They determined then to gather the Indians into settlements, apart from Europeans, hoping by the influence of instruction and example to form them to the habits of civilized and Christian life. The first of these *Doctrinas*, as they were called by the Spaniards, or *Reductions*, as they are generally called, was established by two Italian Fathers, Cataldino and Maceta, on the river Paranapané, about ten French leagues above its junction with the Paranà, and six hundred from the sea. To this settlement they gave the name of Loreto, and here, in the year 1610, they began the system of education of the savages, which for one hundred and fifty years produced such fruits, and which has never been elsewhere surpassed. 'The Christianity of Paraguay,' says the author just named, 'enjoys such singular privileges, and upon it God has rained down such abundant blessings, that I am resolved to write on it, that whatever Catholic reads this notice may bless God at the thought that He has made for Himself a chosen people in this barbarous and unknown land.'[1] He pictures to us a people sunk in the most degrading vices; knowing no shame in their nakedness nor measure in their rage, greedy above all things of human flesh, wild beasts in fact rather than men, transformed by the power of God's grace, with the instructions given by the Fathers and the sweet influence of their example, into models of piety, of modesty and fraternal charity, and of such irreproachable morals that they seemed to be a portrait of the primitive Church.

[1] P. 5.

No one can reflect on the picture which he presents of the life of these neophytes without admiration at so great a fruit of grace, and without being warmed with the bright hopes that were held out for the future of that country. At the first blush of dawn, the children of both sexes were assembled in the church to recite, in alternate choirs, the Christian doctrine. At sunrise, the whole people attended the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and after the day's work was over, the sound of the bell again summoned the children to recite the Rosary. On Saturdays, all attended Mass, with organ and music, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in the evening sang her litanies with solemn chant. On Sundays, the whole people were assembled at dawn to sing the Christian doctrine. This was followed by all the exercises and rites of a Catholic people—baptisms, marriages, public reprehensions and acknowledgment of faults, the usual announcements of a parish, solemn Mass and sermon. The devotion and attention of these poor savages were such as to shame more privileged Christians. When the missioner sallied out to make new conquests, he was attended by a band of some thirty of his flock, eager to join him in bearing the good tidings to their countrymen. These would cut their way, hatchet in hand, through the forests, and when they came upon habitations they would use all their eloquence to persuade the inmates of their own happiness, and invite them to come and throw in their lot with them. Then, when the new recruits arrived at the Reduction, all was joy and eagerness to welcome them, while each one vied with his neighbour in offering all that Christian charity could suggest. Such was the respect for duty, that slight punishments sufficed to maintain a perfect order, so that even amongst these children of the forest, just rescued from a life of absolute barbarism, the grosser crimes were seldom seen. Here every one was free: each one had his own little property, which sufficed for his support, and the wise prevision of the Fathers took care that there should always be a common stock, from which the needy could be supplied, for they well knew that it would require generations to

overcome the naturally indolent and improvident dispositions of these people. Every one, therefore, had sufficient, and, as there was neither gold nor silver in the Reductions, there was little incentive to avarice or its attendant quarrels. The success of these people in music was wonderful; not only did they sing with accuracy and taste in the church, but they played with great skill on various instruments, and when, in ascending the river in their excursions with the Fathers, they would strike up some sacred canticle, the pagans would come out from their dens to listen, and, carried away by the sweetness of the strains, would follow the sound until, when they reached a suitable spot, the Father would gather the wondering savages around him, and preach to them Jesus Christ.[2] Not only were their souls attended to, but all the useful arts of agriculture and working in wood and metals, even to the manufacture of clocks and musical instruments, sculpture and gilding, &c., were taught them. The surplus of their produce was exchanged at the Spanish ports for articles of European workmanship, and, in fine, nothing was needed to render these once neglected tribes a truly happy people, with every want abundantly supplied, and possessed of the greatest of all happiness, the knowledge of God and the facilities of serving Him. The Father who presided over the settlement received his appointment from the Spanish Governor of the province, as also did the chief *corregidor*, or officer of justice, who was always an Indian, the other officials in the management of the settlement being chosen by the Fathers.

I cannot refrain from citing a few passages from writers of very various sentiments which all bear testimony to the

[2] A Father of the Society paid a visit some years ago to these now desolate abodes. In one of the ancient Reductions, he found seven families still lingering about the hearths of their ancestors. The church was standing, but bare and falling into decay. It was Christmas. The poor people, overjoyed at the visit of a Priest, begged him to let them celebrate the feast by a Solemn Mass. 'But where shall we find musicians?' was the reply. To his astonishment he found that they had still preserved all the music of High Mass, and went through it correctly, as in the days of happiness long passed; but the words were those of the Mass of St. Ignatius.

happiness of these people. The passages are well-known, but they shed a halo of beauty over the memory of what is no more; and to record them here is a fit reparation to men whom slander tracked even in their noblest and most self-sacrificing deeds.

Missions [says Buffon] have formed more men among barbarous nations than princes and victorious armies have conquered; they conquered Paraguay; sweetness, good example, charity, and the constant practice of virtue, opened for the missioners a way to the heart of the savages, and gained for them their confidence; after having subdued their ferocity, they found their neophytes so submissive that they came of themselves to ask for instruction in a law which made men so perfect. Nothing does more honour to religion than the fact of having civilized these nations, and of having laid the foundation of an empire without other arms than those of virtue.[3]

Paraguay [says Montesquieu] furnishes us with an example of those rare institutions which are destined to elevate a people to virtue. And yet they wish to make a crime of the devotion of the Jesuits to this work. It is the glory of the Society of Jesus to have been the first on this Continent to unite religion to humanity. By repairing the devastations of the Spaniards they began the cure of one of the greatest wounds of the human race.[4]

What project [says Haller] could have been more noble or more advantageous to society than to unite together those people scattered amid the wilds of the American forests, and to snatch them from their state of extreme misery; to have put an end to their cruel and destructive wars, enlightened them with the light of the true religion, and united them into one family, bringing back the golden age in the equality of citizens and community of goods.[5]

The following, from the pen of one of the bitterest enemies of the Christian name, has special interest.

Nothing can equal the purity of morals, the gentle and tender zeal, the paternal care of the Jesuits of Paraguay. There each pastor was truly the father and guide of his flock. There authority was not felt, because no order was given, no prohibition

[3] Buffon, *Dissertation sur les varietés de l'espèce humaine.*
[4] *Esprit des lois.*
[5] *Essais sur divers sujets interessants.*

imposed, no punishment inflicted, but what was ordered, imposed, or inflicted by religion, which they loved like themselves . . . A government under which no one was idle, no one oppressed with labour; in which the food was wholesome, abundant and alike for all the citizens, where all were comfortably lodged and well clothed; where the old and infirm, orphans and widows were taken care of as in no other country; where all marriages were made for affection and without interest; where a multitude of children was a consolation instead of a burthen to parents, &c.[6]

To conclude this picture, I feel that the reader will read with pleasure, though with sadness too, the following well-known but beautiful passage from the *Génie du Christianisme*, where a great Christian poet mourns over the destruction of what was at once so beautiful and so holy. After telling us that with a Government so paternal as was that of the Fathers, it was no wonder if these new Christians were the happiest and purest of men; after describing the innocence of their life and the simplicity of their manners, combined with an abundance of all they could need, while 'hospitality, friendship, justice, and the tender virtues flowed naturally from their hearts at the voice of religion, as the olive sheds its ripe fruit on the rustling of the breeze,' he continues—

We seem to have but one desire after reading this history: it is to cross the seas, and far from trouble and revolutions, to seek a life of obscurity in the cabin of the savage and a peaceful tomb beneath the palms of their cemeteries. But deserts are not deep enough, oceans are not wide enough, to screen man from the woes which pursue him. Whenever we draw the picture of the happiness of a people, we must always come at last to a catastrophe. In the midst of the most smiling picture, the heart of the writer is torn by the reflection which is ever presenting itself. *All this exists no more.* The missions of Paraguay are destroyed; the savages gathered together with such fatigues are once more wandering in the forests, or plunged living in the bowels of the earth; and men applaud the destruction of one of the finest works which has ever come from the hand of man.[7]

[6] Raynal, *Hist. Phil. et Politique.*

[7] *Génie du Christianisme*, p. iv. l. iv. ch. iv.

Making all allowances for the colouring of a poet, it is impossible to read these beautiful words without sadness. They are too true. The storm of violence and passion that had so long frowned over them, at last burst over these abodes of happiness, like a turbid torrent which sweeps over a well-cultivated garden, destroying all that was beautiful, and polluting what it does not destroy. A missionary priest who visited these regions a few years ago, met with an old Guarani Indian who had said the Little Office of the Mother of God for the long period of ninety years,[8] but the church, in which, as a child, he had learned to sing it, was no more; the forest waved where once had been heard the hum of happy toil, and, as of old in Jerusalem, 'they saw shrubs growing up in the courts as in a forest.'[9]

Muratori, in his description of the Reductions of Paraguay, makes frequent reference to the toils and dangers which the Fathers had to undergo before the happy results which he describes could be attained. They had to struggle with the difficulties of impenetrable forests, rugged mountains, and impassable swamps, separation by thousands of leagues from the civilization of Europe, and the ready suspicions of a fickle people, in whom vice was ingrained by the habits of untold generations. They were surrounded by pagan barbarians, accustomed to hunt men like wild beasts, and exposed to the still more terrible incursions of the mixed races and colonists of Brazil, who looked on the Indian in no other light than as a beast, who could be made useful in their plantations. Often they sank under the toils and privations of the long journeys through forests, in which to stray was to perish, or were rescued by evident miracle from imminent death. Often they had to labour like slaves in tilling the soil, while the indolent Indian would look on with indifference; often they had to face the fury of the yet unformed neophyte, ready to suspect treachery in those whom he did not yet know to be his truest friends. On several occasions they gave their lives a sacrifice for the regeneration of the poor savages. Muratori records the names of nineteen

[8] *Month*, vol. viii. p. 300; March, 1868. [9] 1 Mach. iv. 38.

who thus laid down their lives for their flock; and on no less than fourteen occasions they saw their abodes of peace and happiness destroyed by the savage Mamelukes[10] of St. Paul, and some 80,000 of their neophytes put to the sword or carried into slavery; but all this was nothing. As missioners, it was what they had expected, and the reports of such hardships carried to the colleges of Europe, only served to multiply the lists of those who sought to leave all to carry the name of Jesus Christ into these solitudes. The grief which broke their hearts, that which finally destroyed their work, was the constant persecution and hindrance which they met from many of those who ought to have been foremost in promoting the great work God was operating by their hands. And here it is necessary to bear high testimony to the conduct of the Kings of Spain and their government in Europe in all that respects the Indians of these countries.[11] They were ever animated by a true zeal for God's glory and the happiness of these poor creatures. Their institutions were wise and just, their assistance to the missioners generous, and their efforts to prevent the oppression of the neophytes unrelaxing. If human institutions could have held in check the hordes of adventurers who flowed over to the New World, the scum of the great cities of Europe, bent only on securing to themselves the treasures of gold and silver that imagination represented to them as buried in these boundless regions, and if evil counsels had not at last prevailed over a weak King, we might now rejoice in the sight of happy Christian communities, faithful to their King and to God, instead of savages who know little more of the Christian name than the vices of those who profess it.

Almost from the outset of the establishment of the Reductions, the Society was accused of having discovered mines of gold, which, it was said, they turned to their own profit, and to this was attributed the separation of these Indians from the

[10] A mixed race of Portuguese and Indian blood, so called by the Portuguese for their cruelty and in contempt for their origin.

[11] See Lord Stanley of Alderley's translation of De Morga's *History of the Philippines.*

colonists, on which they always insisted. They were accused of carrying on a commerce forbidden by the canons, of arming their neophytes against the King, and finally of setting up an independent government, of which they themselves were the sole dictators. It was said that the fleets of the Jesuits covered the seas, carrying their gold to the colleges and their merchandise to the marts of Europe; their transactions occupied the Exchanges of Lisbon and Madrid, and the Jesuit republic, and the kingdom of Nicholas the First, of the Society of Jesus, were the talk of Europe.

As these statements became the ground of the most grievous persecution of the Society, as they were registered in official documents sent in the name of the King of Portugal to the Holy Father, and finally became the excuse for the expulsion of the Society from the dominions of Portugal, it is necessary for my purpose to enter at some length into this subject, and I must beg the reader's patience if I refer here to many documents bearing testimony to the innocence of the Fathers, and to the great service they rendered to God and their King. And here I must remind him that the words of praise he will read are not mine, but of men living on the spot, with official characters to sustain, whose temporal interests would often have been advanced by very opposite statements, and who here record in an official capacity what they themselves saw, and what they knew. The calumnies published regarding these missions render it necessary to record these testimonies.

It is well known that the Spanish adventurers in South America found a ready supply of labour for the cultivation of their newly acquired lands in the native inhabitants of the country. These they bound to a kind of personal service, giving them the name of *Comendados*, but in reality constituting them slaves. The Fathers of the Society represented to the King the injustice that was done to these poor creatures, and at the same time the injury to the service of God and that of the Crown by making the name of Christian and Spaniard hateful to the inhabitants. The consequence was a series of

decrees from the Kings of Spain and of Briefs from the Holy See, in which the entire liberty of all who voluntarily submitted themselves was repeatedly insisted on. By this means the Reductions were exempted from all personal service, but it was only through the constant watchfulness of their guardians the Jesuit missionaries, and their repeated representations, that this exemption was secured. This was sufficient to make them an object of animosity, and a subject of incessant calumny on the part of these greedy settlers. The testimony of Muratori on this subject is so clear and so exactly to my point that I shall quote it here.

Never were there wanting persecutions, accusations, and enormous calumnies carried even to the Court of Madrid against the pious missioners. This war came from those of whom we have already spoken, that is from men who could not endure that these zealous servants of God should oppose vigorously whoever wished to reduce to slavery or oppress these poor Indians, without regard to the severe decrees of the Catholic King forbidding any Indian to be made a slave . . . and those who sought to hold them and their lands *in comendo*, as is done in Tucuman and other places; the Kings of Spain having exempted from this heavy burthen and intolerable yoke those Indians who spontaneously submitted to their sovereignty and the sweet laws of the Holy Gospel. This exemption, so suitable to justice as well as to the piety of the Kings of Spain, is insupportable to those who pass over to America greedy of gold and of large fortunes. And on this account they have never ceased to raise storms against the Reductions governed by the Jesuits, in the hope if it were possible, by right or by wrong, to drive them thence, in order that having dispersed the pastors, it might be easier for them to enter into those folds and carry on despotically their accustomed vexations, when there was no one left to exclaim against them. But what has been the result? All these calumnies disseminated even among heretics, have served only to render more evident the irreproachable conduct and disinterestedness of the missioners, by means of numerous visitations demanded by them and carried out by bishops and governors of provinces, who have repeatedly made judicial examination of these accusations, the offspring of malice and envy, and found the very opposite. The authentic Acts of the Visitation are

preserved in the archives of Buenos Ayres and Assumption, and the letters of prelates and royal officers in praise of the apostolic labours of the missioners and their wise government and constant support of the interests of the Crown, are in Madrid.[12]

Unfortunately it was not only lay adventurers who calumniated the missioners, but worldly and ambitious ecclesiastics and religious, forgetful of the spirit of their calling, or apostates from their rule, gave additional weight to the accusations by the sanctity of their calling and the presumed sincerity of their purpose; and what is more, formal documents were produced in confirmation of the accusations. What I am going to relate will suffice to place the reader on his guard when such alleged attestations are placed before him. In a slanderous work published in Portugal against the Society in 1759, by the agents of Carvalho,[13] we find the name of Fra Bernardino de Cardenas, Bishop of Assumption, of whom it is said in a note,[14] 'This is the holy and unfortunate prelate who suffered at the hands of the Jesuits in Paraguay such insults, injuries, and cruelties, that ecclesiastical history furnishes few examples of holy martyrs who have been so grievously outraged and afflicted by their barbarous persecutors.' It is probable that most of those who read that passage (and the book was widely circulated throughout Europe) had no idea of the character of the man here referred to. A very short description will suffice. It will appear how egregious is the falsehood and how great the calumny against the Society. Fra Bernardino de Cardenas was a Franciscan friar, of little learning but great power of speech. He had an extraordinary facility of influencing a multitude, and in his missionary excursions drew large crowds after him. It was his ambition, says Charlevoix, to have the reputation of a saint, and the austerities which he practised in public, with many, served his purpose in this respect.

[12] Cap. xxii. p. 120.

[13] The Italian edition bears the title, *Sommario di Documenti Authentici citati nel supplemento alle reflessioni e all' Appendice di un Portughese in Genoa.* 1760. Con licenza dei Superiori.

[14] P. 64.

The history of his episcopal government shows him to have been a fanatic such as is rarely to be found in the records of a see in union with the Catholic Church. Having vainly attempted to obtain from the Rector of the College of Cordova an approval of his consecration before his Bulls had arrived, he nevertheless for some time wore the cloak of great friendship towards the Society, praising it in public above all other Orders to such a degree that it might have seemed to be his object to wound the feelings of all other religious. His devotions, even introduced into the solemn services of the Church and the Sacrifice of the Mass, were extraordinary; he celebrated two Masses daily, though priests were abundant in the town; disciplined himself to blood in the public streets in broad daylight, in the sight of crowds of all classes; carried the Blessed Sacrament about his person, though frequently engaged in exciting scenes most unworthy of Its Sacred Presence, and carried away by fits of violent passion. He would heap invectives on one who had offended him, and then load him with caresses, and deny that he had ever done otherwise. He launched excommunications and interdicts against every one who opposed his will, pretended to receive celestial inspiration, declared that all power, spiritual and temporal, had been conferred upon him, usurped the authority of the Governor, and after having kept the whole province in an uproar, was forcibly expelled as an intruder by the long suffering Governor Don Gregorio; but returning again sent a body of troops against the legitimate Governor, threatening with excommunication whoever yielded to his authority, and assuring his adherents that angels would deliver the enemy into their hands.[15] From the time he threw off the cloak of affection to the Society, his violence towards it was extreme, and it was only by a ruse of the Governor that he was deterred from marching at the head of a body of troops to drive the Fathers from the Reductions. On one occasion, after having preached with violence for three-quarters of an hour against the Society, he happened to perceive a Jesuit Father among his audience, and turning towards him, with his hand pointing

[15] Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 32, seq.

to the tabernacle, said, 'Pardon me, Father, it is He Who is here, Whom I am going to consecrate and receive, Who puts these things into my mouth. I did not think of them when I entered the pulpit. I cannot resist the Holy Spirit which has seized me.'[16] His chief accusations against the Society were that they deprived people of their rights (which really meant that they would not allow the Spaniards to hold the Indians of the Reductions *in Comendo*), that they taught heretical doctrine and drew the Indians off from their allegiance to the King; but the real cause, it cannot be doubted, was the refusal of the Rector of Cordova to approve his consecration, a conduct which was confirmed by a decree of the Sacred Congregation, of September 1, 1657, which declared that though valid as to the sacrament the consecration was illegitimate and null as to the exercise of the functions.

It is not necessary to enter into the details of the treatment of the Society by such a man as has been described. It is enough to state that on October 19, 1649, the Judge Conservator Apostolic, Don F. Nolasco, Superior of the Order of Mercy in the province of Assumption, in a document witnessed by General Lorenzo de Cortega e Villejo, Captain Alphonso de Roja Aranda, and Philip Gonzales, Notary Apostolic, condemned Don Bernardino on forty-seven counts and bound him to pay 2,000 piastres, to be placed at the disposition of the King, to say nothing of the ecclesiastical censures and excommunications which he had incurred. Amongst the points for which he was condemned are the following—Publishing various calumnies against the Society from the pulpit, and otherwise imputing enormous crimes to them, 'though the said religious are great servants of God, of exemplary life, and most worthy labourers in the vineyard of the Lord:' causing the college of the Society and the church to be sacked and destroyed, the Fathers to be beaten and dragged by violence to the river and put into boats and abandoned to the stream; seizing their property, the ornaments of the church, horses, mules, &c., and dividing them amongst his

[16] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 89.

party; and, amongst many other heads, forcing various persons to sign blank sheets that he might use them to spread calumnies against these religious, the Judge declaring 'the said religious of the Society of Jesus, and missionaries, exempt from the calumnies which he has imputed to them in his writings or by word of mouth, pretending to attach a stain to their good conduct, religious life, and holy doctrine,' &c.[17] Charlevoix tells us that this prelate used to force people to sign documents, which were sent to the officers of the Crown as proofs of the guilt of the Fathers. A proof of this, showing the means made use of against the Society, has come down to us. It is the death-bed retractation of Captain Don Gabriel de Cuellar e Mosquera, citizen and treasurer of the holy 'crociata' in the city of Assumption. After declaring that he makes this statement for the sake of truth, the discharge of his conscience, and reparation to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and after having borne high testimony to the zeal, prudence, charity, and general edification of the Fathers, whom he describes as unceasing in their labours in putting a stop to scandals, visiting the sick, and giving spiritual and temporal succour to all who needed it, calling them the friends and protectors of all good men who have at heart the salvation of their souls, and having spoken of the violent anger and passion and unjust excommunications of Don Bernardino de Cardenas, he proceeds as follows:—

Moreover, having engaged me in the office of Secretary and Procurator-General, and forced me by great severity and other means to take part against these Fathers, he frightened me till I consented to say and write and induce other persons in the city of Assumption to say and write and sign whatever he wished against the said Fathers, and this with closed eyes, without examining whether it was true or false, though I knew in my conscience that all this was only the effect of his blind passion, which calumniously imputed to the Fathers things which did not exist. With respect to what has been said as to the want of fidelity of these Fathers to his Majesty, of their procuring gold

[17] Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 265. *Pièces justificatives.*

for themselves and sending it to foreign countries, of their design to withdraw this province from the King our Master, of their being schismatics, heretics, disturbers of the peace, scandalous, prejudicial to the public good; it is all false—most false; and I would wish to have the voice of a trumpet to declare this to the whole world, to undo the calumnies of these papers for which I am answerable and which I caused to be signed in the city of Assumption. Of these about thirty-five were under false names, and what purported to be the signature of my son, Don Joseph de Cuellar e Mosquera, who was then only seven years old, was signed by me for him. And all this and the rest of which I am guilty I did at the order of his lordship the Bishop, who commanded me, as Governor and Captain-General of this same province of Paraguay, in the name of his Majesty, under pain of death and the imputation of treason, &c.

This declaration is signed in presence of a notary and three witnesses of the Order of Friars Minors at Cordova, November 8, 1656.[18]

This method of producing documents appears not to have been unknown to the Fathers in Lisbon, for on one occasion Carvalho, after having asked Father Henriquez, Provincial of Portugal, if he had seen the book entitled *The Jesuit Republic*, added, 'If I had been consulted I could have furnished much more terrible accusations, extracted from the royal archives.' 'Yes,' replied the Provincial, 'and they would probably have been as true as the allegations in the book.'[19]

It has been seen that the fever of gold had seized the brain of most of the Spaniards who flocked to the New World in the first years after the discovery of America. To search for mines was one of the chief duties intrusted to Don Alvarez Nuñez de Vera, sent out by the Emperor Charles V. as Governor of those provinces in 1540, and it was only when he had advanced into the centre of the continent that his troops, wearied with the fatigues of incessant explorations, murmured that they were led in search of 'chimerical treasures which seemed always to fly

[18] Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 300. *Pièces justificatives*, translated from the original Spanish.

[19] *Anecdotas do ministerio do Marquez de Pombal*, vol. i. p. 114.

before' them. In fact, they found none; but the idea ever remained of untold wealth concealed in the bosom of the mountains. In 1637, Don Pedro Estevan d'Avila, Governor of the province of La Plata, wrote to the King that 'the abundance hoped for in these provinces lay chiefly in the precious metals that they expected to find. He added—

There have been confused notions of these treasures from the time of Don Ruiz Diaz Melgarejo, who founded the city of Villarica, but after using the greatest diligence to obtain exact knowledge of them, it has been found that all that had been published regarding them was uncertain. . . . Lately Manuel de Frias, nephew of Don Ruiz, the first Governor of Paraguay, had promised your Majesty to discover these metals, of the existence of which he was assured; but I have heard from persons worthy of credit, that though he made the greatest exertions, all his efforts to find them were useless. I have sent all the depositions on this subject to your Majesty, and I doubt not they are all at the office of the Royal Council. Two things lead me to believe that there is no reliance to be placed in all these accounts (of the existence of mines). The first is, because the above-named Governor omitted nothing to find these mines; the second is, because all the witnesses who made depositions as to their existence were *men filled with passion against the Society of Jesus*, and, moreover, had not the qualifications required to give information to be laid before your Majesty.[20]

Don Bernardino de Cardenas, of whom we have been speaking, was beset with this imagination—the Jesuit missions abounded in gold. Before his appointment to the see of Assumption he had been engaged in the pursuit of this phantom, and his eagerness made him a ready dupe for any designing informer. In the year 1644 an Indian named Bonaventure, who had been a servant in a convent at Buenos Ayres and had afterwards returned to the woods, deposed that the Jesuits had discovered very rich gold mines in the Reductions of Uruguay, that he himself had worked in them, and that in the space of three days it was easy to collect half a bushel of gold dust. He pointed out on a map the exact

[20] Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 13.

position of the various workings with such an air of simplicity that many were deceived. The Rector of the College at Buenos Ayres demanded an official investigation. This was granted; but the informer broke down so completely under examination, and was so confused in his statements, that the Governor disbelieved his story, and for a short while the question lay at rest. The appointment of a new Governor, Don Hyacinth de Laris, offered an opportunity for renewing the tale, and a letter from Don Bernardino expressing his entire conviction as to the existence of the mines, led him to the determination to take the matter up in earnest. He accordingly set himself *en route* and ascended the Paranà with the informer and an escort of fifty soldiers, till he reached the first Reduction. Shortly before arriving at this point the informer disappeared. This raised such suspicions in the Governor's mind, that had it not been for the immense distance he had already travelled, he would have returned on his steps. The Superior of the mission entreated him to examine all the Reductions, but demanded that Don Bernardino should be summoned to give the proofs on which he based his assertion. This was agreed to, and a courier was sent with letters to Assumption for the purpose. Meantime Don Hyacinth animated his men to the search, promising the rank of captain and a handsome sum of money to the first who should find the sought for treasure. Everything was in vain. At length the courier returned with letters from the Governor of Paraguay and Don Bernardino. The former acknowledged that he had often heard of mines, but in so vague a manner that he placed little credence in the report. The Bishop offered to point out the exact spot, but advised commencing the search by the expulsion of all the Jesuits from the Reductions. This was enough to show what spirit had suggested his declarations, and the Fathers having succeeded in capturing the fugitive informer, Don Hyacinth entreated him with offers of all he possessed to show him the way to the mine, and it was only then that, finding himself discovered, he acknowledged that he had never known of any, and even denied having ever pretended such

knowledge. The enraged Governor would have hanged him on the spot, but at the intercession of the missioner he was let off with two hundred stripes.[21]

A very similar incident took place in the year 1653, when an Indian named Dominic gave information of mines which were worked for the Jesuit Fathers, which he described as protected by forts to secure them from surprise. This led to the appointment of Don John Blasquez de Valverdé as Visitor of the Reductions, with full power to examine into everything that concerned the royal interests, and especially the existence of mines of the precious metals. Dominic had been a servant or slave of Captain Christopher Ramirez de Fuenleal, one of the most ardent partisans of Bernardino de Cardenas, and there is reason to believe that it was this man who led him to practise the deceits which ended in a result exactly similar to what has just been related; but we have the additional advantage of an authentic report sent by Don Blasquez to the King, in which, after alleging the various accusations, of defrauding the royal revenues, &c., he says—

Having, then, seen and considered everything which concerns this business, and observed all necessary diligence in the visitation of the provinces of Paranà and Uruguay, after having received the confession and retractation, which the said Dominic has made in court, of the calumnies he had published, acknowledging that all that he had said was false, and that he had been led to the deceit by the motives stated in the report; all which has been verified, not only by his own confession, but moreover by the deposition of persons who have known him from his infancy, who declare that he had never set foot in the province of Uruguay; and, moreover, being convinced by the fact that no mine has been found in the places indicated, and that there is no trace that there ever has been, or of any walls or guard-houses such as were marked on his map and in the plans which he had drawn, and that the Indians of the country who are under the care of the Fathers had never seen anything of the kind—having considered all this, and the importance of the case, I declare that the accusations and declarations made by the said Indian Dominic in court are false and calumnious. . . .

[21] Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 132.

He was taken from this province to that of Tucuman by his master, Christopher Ramirez Fuenleal, one of the accusers of the said Fathers, who for security of his conscience at the point of death retracted juridically all that he had deposed against the Fathers concerning the mines, &c.[22]

The same officer in another official document, dated October 2, 1657, declares—

That all that had been said about the mines was false, and that there was nothing to lead to the belief that gold mines had ever existed there, or that gold had ever been found in the beds of the rivers, as had been rashly and maliciously declared and deposed, with design, as it appears, to discredit by these calumnies the conduct of so holy an Order as is the Society of Jesus, which for fifty years has laboured in these countries, preaching the faith and instructing great numbers of infidels, whom they have converted.

It is enough to add to this that in the decree of Philip V., of December 28, 1743, that monarch distinctly declares that it has never been known that metals have been found in those countries.

With the fable of the gold mines the mystery which it was pretended hung round the Reductions, and of which the exclusion of the Spaniards was alleged as a proof, disappears also. It has been seen that the missioners jealously watched the approach of Spanish or Portuguese adventurers to their settlements, as they had only too sad experience of the havoc which their licentious lives always made in the simple innocence of these poor people; but to official visitors, whether sent by the Governor or the Bishop of the province in which they were situated, the Reductions were always open. 'From the mouths of these Indians,' says Muratori, 'there never escaped an oath, an imprecation, or an immodest or injurious word.'[23] We can understand, then, the anecdote which is related by the same author of a party of five hundred men who had been sent from the Reductions by order of the President, Don Joseph Salazar, to execute some works at Buenos Ayres. On their return some

[22] Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 381. [23] *Cristianesimo felice*, p. 71.

of them said to the missioner, 'How can you teach us that such and such things are sins against morality and charity, when we know for certain that Spaniards, though Christians, do these things with impunity?' The Father could give but one answer, that the doctrine they preached to Indians they preached both to Spaniards, and to those who were not Spaniards; if they did not observe it, they would pay dearly for their conduct before the tribunal of God.[24] For this reason, adds this author, they obtained from the Catholic King a prohibition for Europeans to set foot in the Reductions; and this, he adds, is one of the principal reasons why in the Reductions of Paraguay, far from the sight and the example of Europeans, innocence of life and the observance of God's commandments flourished with such splendour. Father Aguilar, in a memorial which he sent to the Catholic King on many points connected with the Reductions, speaking of intercourse with the Spaniards, thus addresses his Majesty.

The worst of it is that if Spaniards were allowed to treat freely with this simple people, the Indians would derive the worst consequences from their bad example, which is entirely opposed to the precepts of morality. They moreover disseminate among them pernicious maxims against their clergy, deceive them in order to entice them away to their own settlements, separating wives from their husbands, and children from their parents, the consequence of which is that, whereas in other places vagrants steal dogs, here these men steal and carry off Indian men and women and children. Would to God that we had not already too much experience of all this![25]

The travellers Juan and Ulloa tell us that the Jesuits had sad experience from the missions of Peru, where the first piety of the neophytes soon declined when they began to communicate with strangers,[26] and Father Aguilar tells his Catholic Majesty that to hope to convert certain tribes of Indians of Buenos Ayres, or Corrientes, or Santa Fè, &c., who had been contaminated by Christian Spaniards, would be as extravagant as to hope for the conversion of Jews.

[24] *Cristianesimo felice*, p. 71. [25] *Ibid.* p. 125. [26] Dallas, p. 141.

The accusation of carrying on commerce in opposition to the sacred canons, might at first sight seem a more serious charge, though the quarter from which it comes would lead any reflecting reader to hesitate before he made great account of it. It has indeed been one of the most wide-spread charges against the Society; but, like others of a similar nature, it had its origin with Calvinists or those Catholics whose ill-will and self-interest taught them to find nothing but evil in the finest works achieved by the Jesuits. The fanatical minister Jurieu, the most prominent features of whose life are his quarrels with his co-religionists and his calumnies against Catholics, and whose brain at length sank under the continual excitement of passion, thus speaks of men who had left all that family or fortune could offer to meet a life of hardship and often a cruel death.

The Jesuits go to the East, not to conquer kingdoms for Jesus Christ, but to make their fortunes, to seek high places in the courts of kings, to become viceroys and governors of provinces, to acquire riches by the increased traffic of the East, and, in fine, to spend a life of delights and pleasures.[27]

It is to the same class of censors that the Jansenist Arnauld belonged when, in his *Morale pratique des Jesuites*, he makes them 'pearl fishers in Cochin, carriers, bankers, and merchants in Carthagena and India, coiners at Malaga, Jews at Genoa, idolaters in China, heretics and persecutors of other religious in Japan, generals of armies and kings in Paraguay, and traders everywhere.'[28]

It is of such writers that Bayle wrote that they could not do the Society a greater service than by heaping their abuse upon it, adding that they ought to be careful to advance nothing which they cannot prove, or which has been already refuted.[29] No doubt Blessed Peter Claver was a merchant in Carthagena, and Blessed John de Britto in India: the martyrs John, James, and Paul,

[27] Zaccaria, *Raccolta*, p. 86. Fossombrone, 1760.
[28] *Realita del progetto di Borgo Fontano*, vol. ii. p. 72.
[29] *Dict.* art. 'Bellarmin.'

and the scores who were burned alive in Japan, were heretics and persecutors! These men did not pretend to write history: their object was to defame, and the willing only were deceived. But I have now to speak of Paraguay. Muratori tells us who were the men who accused the missioners of traffic.

> They were [he writes] men intent only on their own comforts and gain, who would probably have wished all the inhabitants of the West Indies to become Christians, but only to draw their own profit out of them, as if they were beasts of burthen, or to make wretched slaves of them instead of faithful subjects of the Crown of Spain. These are the men who spread through Peru and in other parts of America, and even in Italy and Spain, that the Jesuits have founded and multiplied the Christian Reductions in Paraguay only for their own interest, that there they live as princes, that the commerce of Paraguay is all in their hands, that no one derives profit from it except as far as it pleases them, that they are rich and powerful, and that in a few years no one will be able to resist them, &c.[30]

He then tells us why the Fathers acted as they did. It was, he says, to guard the simplicity of the Indians against the rapacity of the Spaniards, who used to deceive them, 'giving them the tenth part of the value due, and receiving from them twenty for one, as in little things happens every day, as the poor Indians are ignorant of the value of things.'[31] It was to prevent the Spaniards coming to the settlements and exchanging glass beads and other trifles of no value whatever for the rich produce of their fields, and tempting the poor half-trained savages to steal the property of the Community and even of the Church to barter for such trifles. This, says Father Aguilar, in his memorial to the King, is the open commerce which we oppose, and which is so loudly demanded by men who habitually make no scruple of conscience in deceiving these poor Indians, as if it were merely a question of abandoned goods the property of the first finder.'[32] And he challenges the accusers of the Society to say whether they ever saw a missioner spending doubloons, or riding a horse that befitted the wealthy,

[30] *Cristianesimo felice*, p. 118. [31] P. 124. [32] *Ibid.*

or carrying, on his journeys from college to college, or from people to people, anything but a pair of saddle-bags or a little trunk, with a few shirts, his cloak, and food for the journey, or at his death leaving behind him gold or silver, or policies of merchandise, or letters of credit, or such things.

The whole of this question of commerce in reality lies in a nut-shell. It is a question of law and of fact. The law is contained in every treatise of the canons of the Church: the fact was open to the whole world, and was witnessed by thousands who had no interest in concealing the truth. Had this been attended to, volumes of inflammatory declamation might have been spared, if indeed there was any wish to spare them: the public at least would have been in a better position to judge for themselves. What, then, is the commerce forbidden by the canons? and what was that exercised by the missioners? The traffic forbidden to the clergy and religious by the canons of the Church is that in which goods are bought at one price to be sold again in the same state at another for the sake of gain. This is commerce in the sense of the canon law, in which advantage is taken of the difference of the price of the same article in different times or places, to make a profitable transaction. It has, however, never been forbidden to sell the produce of one's own land or of one's own labour. The hermits of the desert sold their mats in the cities to obtain by this means the necessaries of life. Nothing was more common, even up to our own time, than for religious houses to keep dispensaries where medicines were prepared and sold for the support of the monastery. The dispensary of Sta Maria Novella at Florence was famous, but no one thought the Fathers of St. Dominic were guilty of a breach of canon law. The celebrated *liqueur* which bears the name of one of the most austere and saintly of religious orders, is the produce of the labour of the monks and the support of their houses. The monks of the middle ages sold the surplus of their produce to obtain the necessaries which their land could not furnish. Such is the recognized law and practice of the Church. What, then, is the fact here? Did the missionaries

practise commerce in the sense we have described as forbidden by the canons? Did they endeavour to enrich themselves by buying the wares of Europe at a low rate, and selling them at a profit in the forests of America? It is unquestionable that they did not. They did not, then, violate the canons on this head. The Society, in fact, places upon its members a restriction still greater than that which the Church imposes. They are not allowed to practise even what has the *appearance of commerce;* but there is no prohibition, especially on the missions, to act as *procurators* or managers for the benefit of the neophytes in such transactions as the canons allow to clerics, and this is what took place. The missioners had undertaken, at the sacrifice of all they had, and often of their lives, to change the tribes of the forest from bloodthirsty pagans to docile and innocent Christians, from savages to civilized and useful members of society. The Kings of Spain placed the whole management in their hands. A pension for the support of the Fathers was paid by the Spanish Crown, but all else that was required to support and clothe and instruct and civilize a population of about one hundred and fifty thousand souls, buried in the remote depths of the forests, isolated for good reasons from the rest of the world, and distant many hundred miles from the centres of European population, even of the New World, had to be provided by the industry of the neophytes under the direction of the Fathers; and not only this, but an annual tribute, moderate indeed in amount, owing to the wise beneficence of the Catholic King, was to be paid to the Spanish Crown. Christian decency, not to speak of civilization, required the importation of European textile fabrics. Paraguay produced no metals. Implements of husbandry and instruments for the exercise of the various arts of civilized life in which they were gradually instructed could only be brought by sea to Buenos Ayres or the other Spanish ports. The metal of which these industrious men cast the bells of their churches had to be carried on the backs of mules over the Cordilleras in a journey of many months from Peru.

On the other hand, the forests around them produced dye-

wood, honey, and wax, while their fields furnished the famous Paraguayan grass, in great demand for the beverage made from it, and their flocks supplied skins and tallow, which are to this day the staple produce of the country. It needed but little foresight to see here the elements of a self-supporting and even thriving community. The skins and wax and Paraguayan grass were sent to the Spanish ports or to Europe, and exchanged for European fabrics, according to the necessities of the various establishments; and in order that the simple Indians should receive the full advantage of their produce, and to guard them against the deceits and the bad example of the Spanish adventurers, whose only motto was 'profit at any cost,' the Jesuits appointed Procurators of their own body to manage the exchange. It is evident that ships were needed to carry the goods to Europe, magazines to store them, offices and clerks, that all might be done in order and justice preserved. But nothing of this was the property of the Society: not a dollar was paid into the chests of the College, not even, says Muratori, was a tithe or tribute or payment of any kind made by the Reductions to the Fathers;[33] on the contrary, the alms of the faithful and the little they could save from what the charity of the King allowed for their own support were applied to relieve the sick, to arrest the poverty, and provide against the improvidence, of these poor creatures, whom it required generations to raise to the careful habits of civilized life. All was the property of the Indian community, for whose spiritual and temporal happiness the missionaries gave with joy their labour, their sweat, and often their blood. And happy did they deem themselves who, after a life of thirty or forty years, spent in no other company but that of these children of the forest, after battling with the fickleness and suspicion and evil habits of savage nature, were allowed to sleep in the Lord in the midst of those for whom they had given their lives, to be borne to the grave by those whom they had formed to Christian life, to have the Office of the Church chanted over them by children

[33] *Cristianesimo felice*, p. 119.

whom they had made heirs of Jesus Christ, and to lie amongst those whom their charity and zeal had made one people, one family with themselves. Such and no other were the profits of the Fathers, such was the commerce carried on by them—a commerce which the decrees of Pontiffs and Kings respected and approved, and only the malice of enemies and of those who thirsted for the spoils of these poor creatures ever decried. I shall have occasion to return to this subject later. I must now notice another charge brought against these religious who would probably have had fewer enemies if their lives had been spent in aught else than the charity of the Gospel.

With respect to the arming of the Indians and the fable of an independent power which it was pretended the missioners exercised, we have abundant proof in official documents to show that the neophytes were armed as a matter of absolute necessity, and with the full approbation of the Government of Spain. To isolate several thousand unarmed men, women, and children, far away from the cities inhabited by Europeans, in the midst of pagan tribes, to whom the cruelty of the settlers had made the name of Christian odious, exposed to the attacks of the ruthless Portuguese and mixed colonists of Brazil, who are said by Muratori in four years to have slain or carried into slavery no less than three hundred thousand Indians, pagan or Christian, not more than twenty thousand of whom ever reached the home of the spoiler, would have been simply to sacrifice victims to cruelty and lawlessness. The wisdom of the Spanish Government, which designed, not to make Christians of the savages and then allow them to perish, but to teach them to defend themselves and form them into useful subjects of the Empire, gave the fullest sanction to the manufacture of firearms and the training of the Indians in the art of war. That they had no reason to regret this is proved by various documents testifying to the zeal and energy with which the Indians of the Reductions supported the cause of the Spanish Crown in many long and painful expeditions, which would have tried the endurance and the discipline of European soldiers; and the dependence of the

Reductions on the Crown is established beyond question, not only by the appointment of the Superior and the chief Indian official in each Reduction by the authority of the Crown, and by the tribute which was never in default, but by the readiness with which they obeyed every summons of the Governors of their province to cooperate in any military expedition which the service of the King demanded. Of this we have abundant proof in official documents, and to this Father Aguilar bears witness when he says in his memorial to the King—

> At the first command, or even suggestion or letter, from your Majesty's Governor, two, three, four, or six thousand Indians hasten forth from their lands, leaving their houses, their wives and children; all bearing their own expenses, with their own arms, and horses if they have them, and if not, on foot, they joyfully undertake a journey of from six to nine hundred miles, and this to suffer, to fight, and to die for your Majesty, and without receiving a farthing of pay—a service which no vassal in the world is accustomed to perform for his lord; and yet we are told that these Indians recognize no master except the Provincial and their priest!

The following extract from the official report of Don Balthasar Garcia Ros, Governor of Paraguay, is a sufficient answer to those who pretended that the Indians of the Reductions formed an independent State, acknowledging no masters but the Jesuits, and that the use of firearms was a detriment to the Spanish Crown. It shows us also what manner of men the Fathers had made out of these children of the forest, who had once known no master but their passions, and how false it is that they purposely brought them up like children, as has been maliciously said. We have here the story of a large body of these men undertaking a march of many hundred miles, enduring great privations and sacrifices, and cooperating successfully with European troops under the command of a cacique of their own tribe. This report is dated June 15, 1705, just fifty years before the occurrence of the events which led to the destruction of these colonies, and the letter of Carvalho to the Holy See, in which the Jesuit Fathers of South America are accused of every enormous

crime, and amongst others of turning the Indians against the royal authority. It is so interesting, as illustrating the state of moral discipline to which these poor savages had been raised, that I shall give a long extract from it here. Having described how he had received through the Viceroy an order from his Majesty to summon a body of the Indians of the Reductions to cooperate with the Spaniards in expelling the Portuguese from the colony of Sacramento, which they had occupied by force, and how he had given notice of this order to the Superior of the Mission, the writer says—

This Father having at once taken the most efficacious measures that were possible in the locality he was in, for the execution of the order, prepared to start himself for the mission, from which he was then distant three hundred leagues, that his own presence might give greater activity to the preparations; and in the meantime named the Procurator-General of the Missions as the Superior of the religious who were to accompany the four thousand Indians—a choice so wise that it added greatly to the happy success of the expedition, every one having contributed to it everything that the greatest zeal and most perfect fidelity demanded of him. . . . In fact, these Fathers employed such diligence in choosing the four thousand Indians, providing them with arms and provisions for the journey and the whole period of the campaign, with horses and mules to carry the baggage on the march, that they were all assembled in marching order by the 8th of September, divided into three corps commanded by the *Maestros de Campo*, Diego Gayvipoi, Boniface Capi Juan Mañani, and Peter Mbacapi, the chief caciques of the villages of St. Borgia, St. Michael, and the Purification, and under the care of Fathers Joseph de Tejedas, John de Anaya, and Peter de Medina, as chaplains, and Brothers Peter de Montenegro, Joachim de Subelia, and Joseph Brazaneli, as surgeons.

After mentioning that some of these descended the rivers in boats, and that others made the long journey on foot, he continues—

The last party arrived (at Buenos Ayres) on the 4th of November with six thousand horses and two thousand mules on forty rafts which carried also all the arms of which they had need. All had surmounted infinite difficulties during the long and

painful journey of one hundred and fifty, two hundred, or three hundred leagues, according to the place from which they came. They arrived at a time of great scarcity, on account of the long drought, in consequence of which there was absolutely nothing in the fields for the support of man or beast; but it was easy to see, from their patience, obedience, and resignation to the wishes of their Superiors, the fruit of the holy education which they had received from the religious of the Society of Jesus, whose constant attention to all that belongs to the service of God and His Majesty showed itself signally on this occasion, as was to be expected from men of such singular and tried fidelity.

He then gives an account of their endurance and constancy in the war, and adds—

In a word, there was nothing too difficult to be intrusted to them, for I knew by experience that they were capable of everything, and nothing was beyond their strength . . . and though nothing is so opposed to their nature as constancy, they displayed so much that during the eight months that the siege lasted . . . they showed no desire to return to their families, even in the midst of the excessive labours which were imposed upon them, and in all showed great proof of zeal and fidelity in the service of his Majesty . . . and because all this is the fruit of the holy education they have received from the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, of the good example they give, of the great intelligence with which they have trained them to perform the duties of civil life, and to fulfil the precepts of religion, instructing them in a faithful obedience to the Divine law and that of the King, at the cost of such great labours and fatigues suffered in the Apostolic ministry, which they exercise with such constancy to rescue them from the errors of paganism and a barbarous idolatry, and to raise them to the state in which they now are, these Fathers are worthy of honour and of the thanks of his Majesty for all that I have mentioned, and for the great zeal, constancy, and discretion, and the singular prudence they have shown in this business.[34]

The same officer tells the King, after his visitation of the Reductions in 1707, that he has only one recommendation to make regarding the Indians, and it is that they should be retained in the state in which they are, of which he says—

[34] Charlevoix, vol. iv. p. 353.

It is due to the good education they have received from the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, to their zeal, their labours, their evangelical preaching, their charity, their wise direction, which have produced among these people such happy fruits of religion, and especially a modesty which gives edification and excites to admiration and imitation whoever enters among them. To such an extent (he adds) is this the case that it is impossible for any one to conceive it who has not visited the Reductions, and especially for those who know only the miserable state of those Indians who are under other management.

He finishes by saying—

These Indians are so faithful in the observance of the laws of vassalage, that the chief part of the goods of the community are employed in the service of the King with great fidelity and zeal.[35]

And yet this is the independent Republic imagined by Carvalho, and denounced by him with affected indignation in the pamphlet which he spread over the whole world. We may here, too, call attention to the injustice of Saint Priest, where he says of the missionaries: 'A link bound them in appearance to the two peninsular monarchies, but in reality they were sovereigns;'[36] and of the Indians, that 'these men could only be happy under the Jesuits on the condition of being kept always children.'[37]

Was it then to act as sovereigns thus to obey every order of the Spanish Governor, to pay their tribute and receive their own nomination from the Spanish Crown? Was it to act as children thus to cooperate with regular Spanish troops under their own leaders and sustain, without demoralization, the fatigue of an eight months' siege at the distance of near a thousand miles from their homes? It would have been well if others who have undertaken to manage savages had made them children like these.

[35] Charlevoix, vol. iv. *Pièces justificatives*, 376.
[36] *Chute des Jesuites*, p. 8. [37] *Ibid.*

All over the world [says the Protestant Sigismund],[38] the contact of English, Dutch, and French races with savages has caused the latter to melt away like wax before a fierce fire, but, on the contrary, in the missions of America, the red race multiplied rapidly under the direction of the Jesuits. The Indians, it has been said, were only great children, but after their expulsion the Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French made them so many tigers.

The following extract from a letter of Don Gabriel Peralta, Dean of the Cathedral of Paraguay, Provisor and Vicar-General, to the Count de Peñaranda, President of the Royal Council of the Indies, deserves to be recorded here, as a testimony which cannot be suspected, in answer to the general accusations against the Society in these countries. It is of the date 18th of May, 1653.

Some persons interested in discrediting the Society, and whose personal views have hindered them from considering what belonged to the service of God and his Majesty, have for several years endeavoured to bring into suspicion the fidelity of these religious in the service of the King. Your Excellency has already some knowledge of them, but my acquaintance with them is derived from the numerous occasions I have had of treating with them, during the many months I have been employed in visiting the churches of this province. Now I protest that I have found nothing which could give the least foundation for suspicion in so grave a matter. The manner in which these Fathers perform the duties of their state, and fulfil the obligations of the ministry intrusted to them, to the great profit of the souls which they have illumined with the light of the Gospel, ought to have shielded them from so disgraceful and criminal a suspicion; for it must be acknowledged that they have conquered these great provinces for God and his Majesty, with no other resources than evangelical poverty, and no arms but the crucifix, and that they have set up this adorable sign of our salvation even on the mountains close to Brazil.

The Bishop of Tucuman writes to Pope Alexander VII., on October 8, 1658, to tell him that the 'furies of hell by means of their minister have made this Society suffer more than can be

[38] *Hist. de France,* vol. xxix. c. 54.

described.' He tells him that, 'though the tempest is a little calmed, these religious still feel the agitation of the waves which have been raised up by the violent tempest which has assailed them.' His second object is 'to tell him of the Christian patience with which they suffered.'

These religious *sustinent pondus diei et æstus.* Of this I am witness in my diocese. Nothing stops them when they are called —neither labour, danger, health, nor expense. At appointed times, always with the orders of the Bishop, and rendering to him on return an account of the fruits they have gained, they travel over the whole diocese, preaching, hearing confessions, administering the sacraments, checking the licentious, and all this at no small risk, often with great danger, and at their own expense.

He then describes a savage people called Calchaquis, living amongst mountains and precipices, idolaters and demon worshippers, the most indomitable and ferocious of men, and adds—

These Fathers have learned the language of this people, with immense labour, and during ten or twelve years have lived among them in two residences, carrying their own wood and water, constantly suffering insults, and often beaten with clubs, putting no one to expense, with little help from the faithful, and drawing the necessaries of life from their Colleges. The whole fruit was to justify the judgments of God, to diminish in some degree the ferocity and vices of this people, to baptize a few infants, and, in time of pestilence, the children whom the parents, like wild beasts without the name, cast forth to perish among the rocks and precipices. These the Fathers eagerly sought and regenerated in Baptism. All this [says the Bishop] was going on when a Spaniard, a true instrument of hell, raised up by God to punish the sins of his bishop, entered the valley, threw these people into commotion, carried war through the province, drove the Fathers from their residence, destroyed one of their houses, burned their church, leaving them only their lives. . . . And after he had caused the other to be destroyed in like manner, the missioners, who had taken flight, had to walk for five days over frightful roads, almost without food, till they could reach a Spanish fort, where they arrived more dead than alive, almost naked, and one of them

with his leg pierced with an arrow. These are the labours with which these religious assist the bishop and advance the faith, give service to God, and seek the conversion and salvation of those whom He has redeemed, and it is for these labours that they suffer, but their sufferings only add to their constancy. I give this account to your Holiness in my character of Bishop, that you may honour these great servants of God, and load them with favours and apostolic gifts, that their example may lead many to run in their footsteps.

I might fill a volume with letters of this character. On March 3, 1690, the Archbishop of La Plata writes in the same spirit to the King—

The advantages [he writes] which all the people derive from the religious of the holy Society of Jesus, both in temporal and in spiritual matters is so notorious to the whole world that, to attempt to extol it, would be to do them an injury.

After drawing a picture of these advantages to the Indians, to the service of God and of his Majesty, he proceeds to tell the King of certain tribes whose ferocity and turbulence are such that no force has hitherto succeeded in holding them in subjection, and he begs his Majesty, as the only resource, to put them into the hands of the Society of Jesus. On November the 26th, 1706, the King of Spain wrote to the Provincial of Paraguay, expressing the highest satisfaction at the services of the Fathers. Referring to the reports he had received from the Council of the Indies as to the services rendered by the Indians to the crown, he declares that he attributes all to the 'wise direction and example' of the Fathers.

In 1655, the Bishop of Buenos Ayres, Don Christopher Moncha e Velasco, formed the design of chasing the Society from the Reductions; and we have a letter of the Governor of that province to the President of the Royal Audience at Charcas, in which he describes the hatred of this prelate for the missioners. He attributes it to this only, that he wished to have for himself a profit on the Paraguayan grass, and honey, and other produce of the Reductions, and testifies that he had often heard him say that as long as the Jesuits were there he

could receive nothing, and points out how for this motive he wished to expel 'apostolic men, who, at the cost of their blood and continual labours, had founded churches for the service of God, and villages for that of the King, drawing the Indians from their mountains and forests, where no other ecclesiastics had ever set foot.'[39] This prelate afterwards learned to take a higher view of his character and his duty,—and became at the same time a warm supporter of the missioners and a model of virtue. He had issued an order to the Jesuits to evacuate the Reductions, and at the same time invited secular priests to present themselves for the various posts. To his surprise, not one responded to his invitation. So unexpected a result made him enter into himself: the veil fell from his eyes. He saw that his whole line of conduct might after all have been due to the influence of blind passion. He had the humility to make the Spiritual Exercises in the College of those very men whom he had persecuted, and to the end of his life he was an altered man. St. Thomas of Villanova, says Charlevoix, became his protector before God and the model of his life, and, like him, he died upon a bed which he had borrowed to relieve his poverty.[40]

On the 24th of July, 1720, Don Affonso de Pozo e Silva, Bishop of Tucuman, writes to the King an account of his visitation of the province, and describes the great progress of religion among all classes. Speaking of the great distances of forty, fifty, and ninety leagues between the various stations, he says: 'My resource is the vigilant zeal of the Society of Jesus, whose missioners spare themselves no labour, travelling over the diocese throughout the year, seeking only to gain souls by their apostolical discourses, spending great part of the night in the confessional to gather the fruit of the missions in which they spend the day. If in other provinces the subjects of this Order are the coadjutors of the Bishop, it is so especially here, as the labour for souls is the greater on account of the great extent of the province,' &c. He adds, 'The subjects of this

[39] Charlevoix, vol. iii. *Pièces justificatives.*
[40] Vol. iii. p. 222.

Order are the most persevering in their labours for the salvation of souls, as well in the most inaccessible mountains and the vast plains as in the cities throughout this diocese of Tucuman. They never leave the pulpit except to occupy the confessional, or to employ themselves otherwise for the salvation of souls.' He says he is eye-witness of what he writes, that he never goes out on his pastoral duty without meeting some of these Fathers seeking for souls to save at all hours of the day; that during the great pestilence which visited the city in the year 1718, the sight of their devotion as they sought out the sick and dying, in order to bring help to their souls, was a great stimulus to his own tepidity. He concludes by deploring the smallness of the number of the Fathers, on account of the many who had fallen victims to the epidemic and other accidents, and entreats him to send out more of 'these apostolic men to increase the flock of Jesus Christ and the servants of his Majesty.'[41] The successor of this prelate, Don John de Sarricolea, wrote to the King on the 20th of April, 1729, in terms yet stronger: 'Without taking away anything from what is due to other Orders, the Society of Jesus excels them all, and even, so to speak, surpasses itself, for if in other provinces it is holy, here it excels in holiness; if in other places it is useful to the Church, as is manifest by its apostolic works, here it is a necessity. . . . The grace which God has attached to this holy Institute, to which they correspond with great fidelity, leads them to carry on their missions in the country without interruption. . . . And yet, notwithstanding the great services which this holy and prudent Society renders to the Church, to heaven and to earth, to God and to man, it meets here, more than anywhere else, the ingratitude of the world, which returns only evil for good, and we see even among Christians the accomplishment of those words of the Apostle,[42] "And all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution."' The same prelate on the 23rd of November, 1730,[43] wrote to Clement XII., the then reigning Pontiff, a letter full of the praises of the Society

[41] Charlevoix, vol. iv. p. 391.

[42] 2 Tim. iii. 12.

[43] Charlevoix, vol. v. p. 437.

for their holiness of life, their zeal in labours, and the wonderful fruits with which God had blessed them. He describes these Fathers going from door to door literally begging for souls, seeking them only to win them to Jesus Christ, and by this admirable traffic to gain heavenly riches for their Master. He describes the thirty Reductions of Indians all speaking the Guarani language and numbering about one hundred and thirty-five thousand souls, without speaking of the seven of the Chiquitos, who numbered about twenty thousand more, as a renewal of the fervour of the primitive Christians, in which are exhibited the beauty and splendour of the Divine worship, to the shame of Europeans, the amazement of barbarians, the admiration of human nature, a triumph of grace and a trophy of the Cross. He then implores His Holiness to grant him the signal favour, unworthy though he deems himself, of pronouncing the simple vows of the scholastics of the Society at least at the hour of his death. In the answer, dated December the 3rd, 1732, the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of the Council, in the name of the Pope, referring to the labours of the Society says: 'It is with reason you love them, and pour out your soul in their praise, and make them a return for their labours among your flock by recommending them to us.' He then gives him permission to make the vows of novices of the Society upon his deathbed.

Finally, we have the decree of Philip V. of the 28th of December, 1743, only seven years before Carvalho's assumption of power, in which, after rehearsing the various accusations, the King declares that he has proof of their falseness, that 'the Provincial of Paraguay had satisfied him fully' on them all, and that the result of all the inquiries he had instituted 'was a uniformity of facts favourable to these religious;' and he decrees that all that relates to the Reductions is to remain as it is; and mentions in particular the system of managing the produce of their lands in which he says, 'I wish no change to be made.' He bears testimony also that the Jesuits had everywhere established schools for the Spanish language with such success that many of the Indians could

read and write it well. These he wishes to be continued, and the Indians to be induced to speak Spanish, which hitherto they had not done on account, he says, of their reluctance to abandon their own language.[44] These testimonies are more than enough for my purpose. A member of the Society can read them with no sentiments but those of self-confusion and thankfulness to God for the graces given to those whom he rejoices to call his brethren, and a desire to follow, if it be only at a distance, their humility, their zeal, and their constant sacrifice of themselves to the service of their Divine Master in the most wretched of His creatures. It is impossible on reading the history of these missions, on which my present object has allowed me only to touch, not to be impressed with the conviction that wonderful as was the vision of that new Christianity which they reared up, in the depths of these primeval forests, the charity of these men, and their sacrifice of themselves, were the greatest of their works. When the reader is made aware of the calumnies which Carvalho poured forth against these Fathers in books and pamphlets, and formal documents presented to the See of Rome, he will understand why I have dwelt so long on testimonies, which, but for the sake of justice to the memory of holy men, it would have better become me to suppress. There are many to whom those calumnies are as household words. In their love of truth they will rejoice to know the judgment of those who saw with their own eyes and touched with their own hands the monument which by their bright example and unwearied zeal these missionaries were raising to the glory of Jesus Christ.

[44] Charlevoix, vol. vi. pp. 331, seq.

CHAPTER III.

The Migration.

In the last chapter the reader has seen something of the grounds for bright hopes for the future which the missions of the Society of Jesus in South America gave to the Church in the middle of the eighteenth century, and he has also seen something of the passions which had long been at work to destroy so much good, and which were so soon to produce the most unhappy results. In the present chapter I shall place before him a sad page of history, in which he will see how the fruits of the toil of a century and a half can be destroyed by the insatiable avarice, the obstinate will, and the presumptuous selfishness of one man.

There was living at the time of which I am speaking in the city of Rio Janeiro a gentleman of the name of Gomez Pereira, a man of wild imagination and ardent enthusiasm, whose ill-matured enterprizes had already more than once brought grief to himself and others. Notwithstanding the repeated investigations as to the existence of mines in the lands occupied by the Christian Indians of Paraguay, unable otherwise to account for the prosperity of the Reductions, this man persisted in the idea that these supposed treasures had been up to this time successfully concealed, and that it was only necessary to secure these lands to the Crown of Portugal to discover the source of so much wealth. He did not know, what it would have been well for both Spain and Portugal had they sooner learned, that the well directed labour of a free people is a more fruitful source of riches than all the gold or silver of the New World. The colony of San Sacramento, on the north bank of the Rio

de la Plata, and commanding its entrance, founded originally by the Portuguese in the year 1680, and always a bone of contention between the Crowns of Portugal and Spain, the latter of whom claimed it by right of ancient treaties and had twice expelled the Portuguese from it, was at this time in the hands of Portugal, having been ceded to that country in the treaty of Utrecht in the year 1716. Don Gomez Pereira proposed that this rich colony should be ceded to Spain in exchange for the comparatively barren lands lying east of the river Uruguay, comprising the seven Reductions of St. Michael, St. Laurence, St. Aloysius, St. John, St. Francis Borgia, the Holy Angels, and St. Nicholas, all of which were under the direction of the Fathers of the Society. He communicated his design to Don Gomez Freire d'Andrada, at that time Governor of Brazil, who, untaught by former experience of the plans of Gomez Pereira, took it up warmly, and recommended it to Carvalho. Little persuasion was needed to draw this minister into the scheme. He saw in it at once, not only the path to prosperity for Portugal and to fame and riches for himself, but a confirmation of the stories which had long been current of the means made use of by the Society to enrich themselves at the expense of the Crown. The first proposal of Pereira was made in 1747, and it was just after the elevation of Carvalho to the post of foreign minister in 1750 that this unhoped-for opportunity of enriching Portugal was brought before him. It mattered not that scarcely seven years had elapsed since the publication of the decree of Philip the Fifth, in which, with a view of settling the question for ever, that monarch makes a formal declaration that the series of investigations which had been made had led him to the conclusion that 'no mines were known and that metals had never been found in those quarters.'[1] It was a frequent practice with Carvalho, as was commonly remarked by those who knew him, to act first and think afterwards, and he hastily proposed the wild scheme to the Crown of Spain. It is sadly to be regretted that the Spanish King consented to

[1] Charlevoix, vol. vi. p. 356.

part with these provinces, no less fruits of the industry of the Jesuits than monuments of the piety of his ancestors. Whoever looks back now on the history of the Spanish conquests in the New World, notwithstanding the triumphs of their arms and the rich treasures of Mexico and Peru, can find no brighter spot in the whole of those vast dominions, no land where the King was better served, no more precious inheritance of the throne than the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay, where neither gold nor silver were known, where the victories were those of faith and charity, and the treasures a happy people, rescued from licentiousness and paganism. But the tribute received from these provinces, owing to the humanity of the Crown, was small; the rich colony of San Sacramento, so long coveted, was a temptation difficult to resist, and though it is said the King of Spain never liked the transaction, the pressure of Carvalho and the temporal advantages that were offered, overcame his resistance, the preliminary agreement was made, and Don Gomez Freire d'Andrada, on the part of Portugal, and the Marquez de Valdelirios, on that of Spain, were commissioned to carry it into execution.

To carry out the design of Pereira fully, it was necessary for the mines to be explored at leisure. The inhabitants of the soil might frustrate the requisite measures, they might conceal the richest sources of wealth, and mislead the explorers. The feelings of thirty thousand Indians must have seemed of little consequence to these guardians of humanity when compared with so great an end. It was stipulated, therefore, that the inhabitants should migrate to another district. Thirty thousand men, women, and children were to be driven from their villages that a search which had already been made a hundred times might be prosecuted once more upon no other grounds than the idle talk of malicious men and the imagination of an enthusiast.

The first step was to communicate with the General of the Society on the part of both Governments, requiring him to send orders to the Provincial of Paraguay, to dispose the

people gradually to the change, and to impose on the Fathers, at the same time, a strict secret as to the intention of the Government. This was nothing less than to force the inhabitants of these seven Reductions to abandon the labours of so many years, the homes they had built, the churches they had loved, the tombs where their fathers slept, the fields they had cultivated, and the groves they had planted. The toil of generations was to be torn from them; they were to migrate they knew not whither, to transport their children, their goods, their cattle as they might, and commence over again what their fathers had done a hundred and fifty years before, the rude work of felling the giants of the forest, to rear new homes in place of those that were wrested from them;[2] and worst of all, they were to leave all they loved to the Portuguese, whose violence and rapacity had led them to be regarded as the hereditary enemies of their race, and whom they scarcely distinguished from their most deadly foes, the Mamelukes of St. Paul; and all this without compensation, at the dictation of a power which they were ever ready to believe, by what they saw around, sought only to enslave them. No sooner, however, did the Provincial receive the orders of the General, than he undertook a long journey of many hundred miles, and assembled the missioners, to consult on the best means of carrying out what they all saw to be so disastrous to the work which had cost so much toil and suffering.

There was but one opinion among the Fathers—to say nothing of the fruitlessness of the scheme at best—that it would be impossible to transfer thirty thousand souls, old men and children, sick and infirm, with innumerable flocks and herds, over mountains and lakes and great rivers for hundreds of miles, through forests which the axe had scarcely yet penetrated, to lands which no one knew of, even if, as was doubtful, places suitable for settlements could be found at all, as large tracts were required for pasture, and only the neighbourhood of the rivers was adapted to settlements. The wayward and suspicious character of the Indians, and the innate savage

[2] *Anecdotas do ministerio do Marquez de Pombal*, vol. i. p. 44, seq.

element ever ready to break out in moments of adversity, or on the least suspicion of treachery, made it but too probable that they would resist the only influence that had yet had power over them, and, rather than obey the cruel order, disperse once more into the woods, and undo the labour of so many years. All this was respectfully but firmly represented, but it was of no avail. The migration of the Indians was determined on, and the missioners were called on to effect it.

The Society has been blamed even by its friends for its submission; but those men did not know its duty as well as the Fathers themselves knew it. Remonstrance with the Court of Portugal was useless. As has been said, it was tried; but the avenues had been closed against it, and any step in that direction on their part only tended to confirm the suspicion of a secret design to thwart the avarice of the new masters of the soil. It was their duty to obey, and they gave themselves with all their influence to the task of hindering the greater of two evils, one or other of which was inevitable. The result was what might have been expected, and marks one of those sad days in history which can never be recalled, and never sufficiently deplored.

Carvalho, believing or affecting to believe that the Superior of Paraguay would not take the requisite means to carry out his design, called on the General to name Superior some one who had not belonged to those missions, and the Father General, that nothing might be wanting on the part of the Society that could help to the execution of the will of the two sovereigns, named for this purpose Father Barreda, at that time companion of the Provincial of Peru, and with him three other Fathers, who should successively take his place in case of impediment by death or other causes, a precaution which the distance of the places and the difficulties and dangers of the journeys rendered necessary, and at the same time sent this order by four different vessels, to be more sure of its being received, and, what is most remarkable, expressed his readiness, General as he was, to go himself to South America, in case his presence should be necessary to assist in carrying

out what the two Courts had so much at heart. His letters were dated February 13, 1753. It had been represented to him that the object of moving the Indians was to guard them more securely against contact with heretics, whereas every one knew that traders from England or Holland had never as yet reached those parts, whilst moving them nearer to the sea coast, as was proposed, was the very way to expose them to corruption. The General's eyes were not so closed as not to see this; but it was necessary to obey.

No sooner did the new Provincial receive his appointment than, advanced as he was in years and even at the time confined to his bed by sickness, he at once undertook the long and arduous journey from Peru to the banks of the Paranà to carry out the orders of the Father General. He had not accomplished the half of the journey when his health and strength so completely failed him, that he considered it necessary to appoint in his place the next in succession of those who were named to fill the post. This was Father Bernard Neydorffert, probably the fittest man for the difficult task allotted him that the Society could have produced. He had been thirty-five years in the country, spoke the Guarani language perfectly, and, it is even said, knew most of the Indians by name. This veteran missionary at once took up his task. He assembled the caciques of the seven Reductions, explained to them the orders of the King, and begged them to assist him in persuading the people to carry them out without opposition. The very naming of such a proposition as the abandonment of the homes where they had been reared, filled them with consternation, and the chiefs to a man refused to obey. The missioner was not daunted by this first refusal. He appealed to the principles of submission which they had been taught, and to their duty of fidelity to their King, consoled them with the prospect of a speedy end of the labours that would be needed, pointed out how the Fathers had left their home and their country for no other purpose than to secure their salvation, reminded them that they too would share their toil, would abandon the churches they had built, would accompany them

whithersoever they went, and share with them the labours of reconstructing their homes. These arguments, and many others suggested by the emergency, which they understood only too well, at length softened the chiefs, and they agreed to cooperate. Select parties were then sent out accompanied by a Father to search for suitable grounds for settlements, still remaining east of the Uruguay; but after many months of labour, with one exception their efforts were fruitless. They then directed their endeavours to the west of the river, where there were already twenty-four Reductions, and begged the caciques to give them some of their lands, to enable them to follow the injunctions of the Courts. Their pastures hardly sufficed for their own flocks, but they finally agreed to share what they had with their exiled brethren, and Father Neydorffert believed that his chief difficulties were overcome. But he was sadly deceived. The unseemly and senseless haste of Valdelirios, urged on by Gomez, ruined all.

In the meantime, Father Barreda, seeing the gravity of the circumstances, wrote to the King of Spain, pointing out to him the difficulty of persuading a nation such as the Indians were to leave their homes, to be enjoyed by the Portuguese who had always been their worst enemies, to transport women and children with baggage and provisions for the journey, to say nothing of thousands of head of cattle, a distance of two hundred leagues, over great rivers and through forests, through which they would have to cut their way with the hatchet, with the evident risk of losing a third of their people, and finally the injustice of dealing in this arbitrary way with a people who had not been conquered by arms, who had never resisted his power, but had voluntarily submitted themselves to his authority under the most sacred pledges on the part of the Crown. There was great reason to fear a revolt, as had already happened with other tribes to whom the Spanish Crown had not kept its word. They might draw with them the seventy thousand Christians of the Paranà, and no power would again be able to reduce them to order. This letter was dated April the 30th, 1752. He did not then know of the success of Father

Neydorffert. In the following year, the King wrote to Father Barreda that he had already received notice that the migration was arranged, praised the Fathers for their zeal, and thanked him for explaining what he believed to be for the service of the Crown. He further commissioned him to assure the Indians of his paternal solicitude for them, and told him that he had given orders to have lands in readiness for them, and troops to defend them from the pagans. About the same time, the Father General, the more to remove any suspicion on the part of the Spanish Monarch, who was being continually influenced against the Fathers by the representations of Carvalho, offered to send out with full powers any Father whom the King should choose. He selected Father Louis Altamirano, and this Father was sent out with full authority over all the Spanish Jesuits in South America.

The orders of the King of Spain were express, that full time should be allowed to carry out all the arrangements necessary to render the migration of thirty thousand souls as little calamitous as was possible. It was evident to any one who was not blinded by passion that it was only by long and careful preparation that the saddest disasters could be averted. But Valdelirios had orders at the same time to carry out as far as possible the designs of Gomez, and he threw himself into the views of this man with a brutality and recklessness that must make him ever responsible for many of the miseries that occurred. The Provincial being asked how long a period would be required, replied that, considering all the circumstances, the securing of the site for a new settlement, the clearing of the land, and the misfortunes that would inevitably occur if the transport were hurried, it could not be effected safely under three years. Don John Echevaria, who was associated with Valdelirios in this commission, gave it as his opinion that it could not be carried out within ten years. But Valdelirios replied rudely that it must be done in three months. The immediate effect of this precipitancy was to take away from the Indians all confidence in their missionaries. They, who had been so docile, and had seen in their pastors

their guides in every business of life, began to look on them only as traitors who had sold them to their worst enemies, the Portuguese; and from this moment dates the commencement of the ruin not only of the seven missions concerned, but of all the others to which this contagion was quickly communicated.

At length the sad pilgrimage began. A long procession with one hundred and fifty carts laden with provisions and implements, followed by numerous herds of cattle, started from the Reduction of St. Michael. Though it contained four hundred souls, that number was not above the sixth part of the population of the settlement. A party had gone before, with Father Garcia at its head, to open a way through the forests, and to choose camping ground for the weary journey. It is needless to chronicle the grief and lamentations that accompanied this exodus. It was the last trial of that confidence in their pastors which had united them together and made them a civilized Christian people; but it was beyond their strength. The wheels of the carts sank deep into the soft soil: every step was one of disheartening labour. Already one old man and four children had sunk under the hardships of the journey. Their savage nature could endure no more. Nothing could control them, they abandoned the attempt, and in spite of all the entreaties of the Fathers returned to their village. A cacique, who had been active in the preparation for the departure, narrowly escaped being massacred, and the cry that Father Michael Ferreira was the cause of all their misfortunes, turned their indignation against him. This Father received timely notice of their fury; but his servant was seized in his stead and butchered without mercy. The inhabitants of the Reduction of St. Francis Borgia had, after incredible fatigues, reached the mountains of Quanai, and begun to construct their habitations; but they were so harassed by the attacks of the pagan Indians, that, in spite of all representations, they lost heart and returned to their homes. Those of St. John journeyed on to the Uruguay; but no exhortation could induce them to cross it. They reproached the Fathers with having sold their possessions to

the Portuguese, and proposing now to give them up as slaves to the Spaniards; and, without hearing remonstrance or reply, returned to their homes.

The same pitiful story is to be told of the rest. Those of St. Laurence alone persevered to the end. But their countrymen, who had undertaken to provide them with necessaries whilst they were establishing their village, influenced by the revolt of the others, failed in their agreement, and, with the exception of fifty individuals who were incorporated into the Reduction of St. Cosmas, they were compelled by necessity to retrace their steps. The men of St. Aloysius made a second attempt and had passed the river; but coming across the Portuguese, they at once turned upon their steps, declaring they would never live in their neighbourhood.

Father Altamirano gave the history of all these attempts to Valdelirios. He received in reply nothing but bitter reprehensions and threats that, if the evacuation were not effected immediately, the Jesuits should at once be expelled from the Reductions. He in fact applied to the Bishop to furnish secular priests and Franciscans to take their place. The Father determined to make one more effort. He ordered the missioners, on the same day and at the same hour, to exhort the Indians, crucifix in hand, conjuring them by their love of that sacred sign, to avert the disasters that would ensue on their disobedience to the King, then throwing themselves on their knees before them, to embrace their feet, declaring that they would not rise till they had gained their consent. This extraordinary appeal was not without effect. The Indians yielded, but it was only on condition of being allowed two or three years for preparation. The effects of this effort on the health of Father Laurence Balde was so violent that he was seized with a fever, which brought him to the brink of the grave. And yet this Father was singled out by Carvalho as head of the opposition to the Government.

It was in vain, however, that Altamirano represented to Valdelirios and Gomez the conditions of the consent of the Indians. These two men, with an obstinacy worthy of the

minister whose work they were doing, would allow of no delay, and preparations were made to send an armed force of three thousand Spaniards and one thousand Portuguese to reduce the refractory Indians to obedience. War was declared on the Reductions, and the missionaries were commanded to communicate this declaration to the Indians in the Guarani language. The caciques of the several Reductions answered the notice by letters to the Governor, written in respectful terms, declaring their respect for obedience, and appealing to their past conduct in proof of this, pointing out that he was demanding of them an impossibility, reminding him of his own former decree and those of his predecessors, with which the present one was in such manifest contradiction, refusing to believe that so just a monarch as they knew their King to be would thus give them up to their enemies. They concluded by letting the Governor clearly understand that they did not fear him. And in fact they began to labour without intermission at the preparation of arms. These poor Indians, so lately models of docility and order, were now perfectly demoralized. The Superiors of the Society, whom they had looked on with so much reverence, were now in their eyes enemies and traitors. Altamirano especially, who had bent himself to every will of the commissioners, became the object of their hatred. The report was spread among them that he was a Portuguese in the disguise of a Jesuit, that he had received a large sum of money to induce him to hand over the Reductions to his countrymen, that it was for this only he had come into America. And, what is more deplorable, there were found Europeans to encourage these suspicions, till these poor creatures, who now for the first time began to know the depravity of men who professed Christianity, were lashed into fury. Some three hundred men of the Reduction of St. Michael vowed the death of Altamirano, and they would have accomplished their design, had he not received timely warning and escaped to the capital.

Valdelirios appears to us now as one of those madmen who persevere in insisting on what to all reasonable men is a

manifest impossibility. We can imagine him rising into a fury if the sea had refused to retire at his word. It is hard to condemn Altamirano for his obedience, for his position was difficult in the extreme. But it is certain that the measures he adopted and those of the Bishop of Paraguay had the most fatal effects, and, in the temper in which the Indians were, it could hardly have been otherwise. Valdelirios now insisted upon a change of missioners being sent to the Reductions, and the withdrawal of all who were not Spaniards by birth. This was agreed to; but the Indians set guards on the rivers and all the approaches to the Reductions, and would let no one pass. The impatience of the commissioners rose to fury. Altamirano was made to send the Fathers an order, under pain of excommunication, to insist once more on the evacuation of the Reductions, and in case of refusal, after the expiration of three days, to consume the Sacred Particles in the tabernacle, burn the holy oils, destroy the sacred vessels, and with their breviary under their arm start for the capital, a distance of at least two hundred leagues, telling the Indians that henceforth they would have no priests and no ministry. The Bishop on his part declared the Reductions, in case of refusal, under interdict, and the Fathers themselves suspended from all the sacred functions of their office, and unable to give the sacraments even to the dying.

All this violence was useless. It was impossible for a messenger to reach the Reductions, so zealously was every approach guarded, and when the order did at length arrive, it only completed the ruin. Fathers Salvador Quintano and Roche Ballister were the first appointed to communicate with the Fathers in the Reductions, but their efforts were unavailing. A report was spread that Father Ballister had eluded the sentinels, and three hundred Indians started in pursuit of him. The order was at length conveyed to the Reduction of St. Nicholas in a bundle of vegetables. It was a Sunday. The missionary ascended the pulpit to read the fatal decree, but he was received with murmurs, which swelled to clamour, till the most daring ascended the pulpit, tore the paper from the

Father's hand, and carried it off to burn it publicly amid the yells of an infuriated people. From this time the house of the Fathers was always surrounded by a guard. They made up their minds for death, but were told that it was only to prevent their escape, that they would be escorted when they went to the church or to visit the sick, but that no harm would be done them. At the end of three days, the Fathers ceased to say Mass, but the Indians told them to take their choice between continuing their functions or being starved to death; and in fact they were left two or three days without food, when they were obliged to surrender. The news of these extreme measures quickly spread to the other Reductions, and the same conduct was pursued. But Father Fernandez, whom Father Altamirano had empowered to act in his place, seeing the fatal effects of the interdict, allowed the Fathers to continue their functions, though the Indians continued to keep them under guard.

Meantime the spirit of sedition began to spread to the other Reductions. At the same time that the Fathers were condemned by Gomez and Valdelirios for not being earnest in furthering their views, they were treated as traitors by the Indians for having, as they believed, sold them to the Portuguese. What added to the suspicion was a letter from the Governor to Father Neydorffert ordering him to furnish on the part of the faithful Reductions, six hundred oxen and one thousand horses and some boats for the Spanish army. The order was intercepted, and produced a general commotion. In one Reduction they publicly scourged the missioners, burned the orphanage, sacked the public magazine, and otherwise vented their fury, and if it had not been for the most strenuous exertions of the missionaries, the whole of the thirty Reductions would have risen against the Spaniards. As it was, when the seven Reductions east of the Uruguay resolved to fight, they invited their brethren across that river and the Paranà to assist them, and the men of St. Charles at once flew to arms, and would have marched out to join the rebels had not the entreaties of the missioner withheld them.

The fact that the resistance was confined to those seven Reductions is alone sufficient answer to the culumnies spread by Carvalho against the Society. Had the Fathers really wished to oppose the Governments, a sign from them would have sent out an army of fifty thousand men to resist the Europeans. Whereas, owing to their fidelity and incredible exertions, there were never as many as seven hundred men in the field against the united armies of Spain and Portugal.

The Paraguayan war, as it has been called, was of very short duration. A circumstance that proves how reasonable was the demand for the period of three years within which to complete the migration, is the fact, that Gomez was engaged a whole year in collecting horses and other means of transport to enable one thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry to move against the Reductions. What, it may be asked, would have been requisite to move thirty thousand persons of both sexes, with infants and the infirm? During the year 1754, the Indians harassed the Portuguese by skirmishes in the woods, and could have gained great successes over them if they had known how to use their advantages. Gomez was reduced to extreme necessity for want of provisions for his troops. He was obliged to implore the assistance of the missioner of St. Michael to deliver him from the hands of his enemies. During this year a party of Indians having been treacherously fired on by the Portuguese, after having been allured by signs of friendship into a little fort, the survivors were taken before Gomez and questioned, in order if possible to obtain some ground for accusation of the Fathers. Those who answered with courage, that the Fathers had made known to them the King's orders, and done all in their power to gain their submission, were treated as traitors, threatened, condemned to death, and though it does not appear that they were really put to death, every show was made, as it were in preparation for immediate execution, in order to frighten the others. In consequence of this some of these poor creatures said everything that Gomez wished, accusing the Fathers of

opposing the Government, and among other things asserting, in answer to his question, that the Reduction of St. Michael alone had fifteen pieces of cannon; whereas, as a fact, the Portuguese found one only, and that was of wood bound round with rings of raw hide. The Indians who gave these answers were treated with every sign of friendship, loaded with presents, and declared friends of the Crown. These statements were sent to Carvalho, and helped to furnish materials for his history of the *Jesuit Republic of Paraguay*. The falsehood, however, was notorious, and is refuted beyond doubt by two independent testimonies. The Fathers knowing the evil effects of the compulsory statements of the prisoners, obtained the depositions of caciques from each Reduction in presence of an Apostolic notary, and their testimony was unanimous that the Fathers had done everything possible to reduce them to obedience, and that the other accusations made against them were entirely false. But a much more signal testimony was given without the knowledge of the Fathers. After hostilities had ceased, Don Pedro Cevalho being appointed Governor of Paraguay in 1756, large numbers of the Indians made their submission to him. He gave them to understand that he wished to address them in a large assembly. Accordingly a multitude of Indians from all the Reductions were assembled in the open space in front of the church of the Reduction of St. Francis Borgia, and there in presence of Valdelirios, Vianna, Commandant of Monte Video, and other officers, with Villa Nova, a captain from the same place, and Casa-Ensez, judge of Corientes, as interpreters, he asked the Indians to say if the Jesuits had concealed the orders of the King, if they had encouraged them to rise, and questioned them on the other points on which accusations had been made against the missioners. The answer of the caciques was that they knew the King's orders only too well, that the Fathers had exhorted them without ceasing to obey, and had suffered harsh treatment from them on this account; but that they could not face the thought of separation from their homes, of the difficulties of the journey, and of leaving their lands to the Portuguese,

whose cruelties had made them regard them as their hereditary enemies.

This declaration was confirmed by a loud cry accompanied by sobs and tears from the whole multitude. The interpreters afterwards drew up a formal document to this effect, attesting it on oath, on March 21, 1757. Villa Nova, who knew nothing of the machinations against the Society, told Vianna with simplicity what they had done. 'Wretch,' exclaimed the officer, 'you have ruined us by your indiscretion;' and on the following day he received a severe reprehension from Valdelirios for his temerity, being told at the same time that he did not know the consequences of his folly. The fact was, that the truth which he had attested was just the contrary to what Valdelirios had written to the King, which, however, the King had always hesitated to believe. Cevalho wrote a full account of these facts to his brother Don Gusmão, President of the Council of Seville, October 20, 1759. But to return to the war. A few words suffice to complete the story, as far as my purpose requires.

The Indians, emboldened by their first success, in the beginning of 1755 advanced to meet the combined forces who were now marching in regular order against them with thirty pieces of cannon. The result was what might have been expected. The poor Indians rushed frantically upon their foes, but the first discharge of musketry threw them into complete disorder. They fled wildly into the woods, leaving above four hundred of their number wounded or dead upon the field. This was their last attempt at resistance. About fifteen thousand of these poor creatures dispersed among the forests and returned to savage life, and an equal number through the exertions of the Fathers made their submission to the new Governor. He received them with kindness, but insisted on the evacuation of the seven Reductions. They were consequently incorporated with those situated to the west of the river. Such was the end of the Reductions of the Uruguay, such the consequence of the despotic avarice of Carvalho, to whom no consideration of the just rights of others was an obstacle, and whose vindictiveness was so terrible that no

servant of the Crown, unless gifted with heroic virtue, dared to resist him. The Reductions of the Uruguay were now no more, but the evil had spread far beyond the banks of that river. A spirit of distrust of their pastors had been enkindled in the breasts of the Indians throughout the whole mission. They had become familiar with the sight of deeds of vengeance, treachery, and hatred on the part of Christians; a demoralization had set in which prepared the way for the complete ruin of this noble work which was so soon to follow.

The Court of Spain, which was at that time still exempt from those prejudices against the Society which made the mind of Carvalho inaccessible to truth, took the wise precaution of instituting a judicial inquiry into the causes and circumstances of the revolt of the Indians, and an official report entirely exculpating the Society was signed and attested on February 7, 1759. However the Queen, Isabella Farnese, wife of Philip V., who governed Spain on the death of her son, Ferdinand VI., in 1759, in a letter dated 27th of September of the same year, addressed to the Provincial of Paraguay, thanked him, and through him the Fathers of those missions, for the zeal and fidelity they had shown in the interests of the Crown amid those unfortunate events. And, what shows still more strongly the sentiments of the Spanish Court, the Queen of Ferdinand VI., though a sister of the King of Portugal and most desirous for the interchange of territory, showed her opinion of the conduct of the Society by leaving it a hundred thousand crowns at her death. Charles III., to express his pleasure at their zeal, by a royal decree signed December 5, 1760, ordained that instead of thirty Jesuits who were sent yearly to the Spanish colonies in South America at the royal expense, as had been the custom, the number should be increased to sixty. And yet, as we shall see, this conduct of the Fathers, which after a mature examination was held to be so worthy of praise by the Spanish monarchs, whose interests were most concerned, and who had the best opportunities for knowing the truth, was made use of by Carvalho, without any examination,

as a ground for the heaviest charges and the most cruel persecution.

No sooner were the seven Reductions evacuated than Gomez Freire d'Andrada set to work to discover the treasures on which he had staked his reputation, and what was of so much more consequence, the welfare of so many human beings. Every forest was tracked, every mountain explored, every river examined. All that science could do was brought in to reveal the hidden wealth. Now at least there could be no doubt that due diligence was exercised. Neither Indians nor Jesuits were there to divert the explorers from the right track. But the result was only what had been often declared, and was now fully confirmed, that gold and silver were not found in those parts. When every measure had been taken, the commissioner, ashamed of his hasty credulity, and, we may well believe, conscience-stricken at the sight of the calamities he had caused, wrote to the Minister to acknowledge the error he had committed. Such a letter was not likely to please Carvalho. He simply remarked on reading it: 'Our good friend Freire has lost his senses in his old age. We must take no notice of what he says.' But this was not all. To have failed in the hopes he had raised, and still more to have acknowledged that the Jesuits were in the right, was enough to bring on him the resentment of Carvalho. He incurred it, and for the future was a disgraced man. He did, however, the only thing in his power to undo the evil he had done. He deferred the conclusion of the Treaty of Limits, and even had the humility to ask the Superiors of the Society to obtain its abrogation. This was out of their power, but it was in fact never completed, and Charles III., who had never approved of it, made it his first act, on his accession to the throne of Spain, to cancel it.

Whilst these sad events were passing in the interior of the continent of South America, the way was being prepared for the destruction of another flourishing mission in its northern portion. The river Amazon, originally called the Maranhão, which formed the northern boundary of the Portuguese posses-

sions in that continent, had long been the scene of the Apostolic labours of the Society of Jesus. In the year 1607, Fathers Francesco Pinto and Luiz Figueira started from Pernambuco, and after a journey through trackless forests, which occupied an entire year, laid the foundation of this mission, which at the time we speak of extended for four hundred leagues along the right bank of the river, and comprised fifty settlements of Christian Indians. This great result had been purchased with incredible fatigues and the blood of many missioners. Father Pinto fell a victim to his zeal at the hands of the savages, after the labours of but one year, and left his companion to fight the battles of Jesus Christ single handed amongst multitudes. In 1641 the colony was taken by the Dutch, and had they not been expelled three years after, every vestige of the Catholic religion would have been obliterated. Here, however, as everywhere else, the avarice and cruelty of the Europeans was the great obstacle to the Gospel. The simple Indians, sunk as they were in barbarism and buried in the most loathsome vices, listened readily to the missioners who came to them as heralds from above, mingled fearlessly among them in spite of their ferocity, spoke to them of virtues of which they knew not the name, the very description of which touched a secret chord in their hearts, corrupted as they were, and promised them a happiness so well within their reach, of which no one of them had ever dreamed. But the cruelty of the Portuguese settlers again and again lashed them into fury, and but for the incredible constancy of the missioners would have destroyed all the work. As in Paraguay, so here too, the Jesuits ever raised their voices against the slavery of the Indians, and this sufficed to make them the objects of the hatred of the greedy colonists. In 1652 the King of Portugal, yielding to their prayers, forbade the employment of the Indians as slaves, and when Father Antony Vieira landed in the colony in 1653, he found the whole Portuguese population in commotion against his brethren, because they could not use the native population as their cupidity desired.

Vieira was the real founder of the mission of the Amazon.

A learned Jesuit, an orator of eminence, enjoying the intimacy of the King, and possessing the esteem of foreign sovereigns, his ambition was to give his life for the multitudes of souls who only wanted to hear the word of Jesus Christ to become fervent Christians. He found an internecine war existing between the Portuguese and many of the tribes of the river. It was in vain the Europeans marched against them. They were shot down with poisoned arrows from the tops of trees, from canoes on the river, from crevices in the rocks, and if they succeeded in killing one there were ten to take his place. Vieira offered alone to conquer them. Already the missioners were known as the friends of the red man. A multitude of chiefs of various tribes met him in council. He preached to them the love of Jesus Christ, and peace with men. They built him a house and church, and, as he stood at the altar, these men, who had never before known the empire of peace, cast their bows and arrows at his feet, and swore in their own name, in that of their nation and of their descendants, to accept the religion of Jesus Christ and to be faithful to the King of Portugal, to be friends of his friends and enemies of his enemies; and the officers of the Crown in their turn swore to preserve the liberty of the people. By this treaty Vieira added one hundred thousand souls to the fold of Jesus Christ and as many subjects to the Crown of Portugal. But this did not satisfy his zeal. He penetrated into the fastnesses of the forests bordering on the frontiers of Peru, where dwelt tribes so lost in barbarism that they seemed to have more of the beast than of man, naked, devourers of human flesh, and so ferocious that no white man had ever returned from among them alive. At the voice of Vieira they seemed to change their nature, and listened like docile children to the doctrine of salvation. But the avarice of the Portuguese could not long endure the restraint which humanity and religion put on them. The abolition of slavery ruined their commerce. The exactions and cruelties to the Indians began again as before. Vieira complained to the King, and a severe edict, protecting the catechumens and neophytes, was the result. But the Jesuits in their turn met with

the fate we have so often seen. The storm turned against them—it was they who had brought about the edict which destroyed the traffic in human sinew. Vieira was cast into prison, and in the year 1660 he and his companions were forced on board a crazy ship and conveyed to Lisbon. But in Portugal Vieira could make himself heard with still more effect. In 1663, Alphonsus VI. published a decree in which he condemned these cruelties, restored the Society, declaring that there was 'no apparent reason for taking these missions away from the Fathers of the Society, but on the contrary there were many proofs of the necessity of their holy zeal.' The Fathers were restored to their labours, but it was only to enter again on an incessant struggle with the ferocity of the savage on the one hand, and the cupidity of the Portuguese on the other. In 1666, Father Francis de Figueira fell under the arrows of the savages, and in the following year Father Peter Suarez, and in 1677 Father Augustin de Hurtado shared a fate so coveted by the missioner, whilst in 1684 the avarice and cruelty of the Portuguese again overflowed all bounds, and the missioners were expelled for the single crime of protecting the savages against their exactions, and this but four years after the King (on March 31, 1680) had issued a decree giving additional powers to the missioners for the very purpose of supporting their zeal for the welfare of the savages. This new violence convinced the King that serious measures were requisite, and a commissioner named Don Gomez Freire d'Andrada was sent out to examine into the complaints on both sides. The result was so complete a justification of the missioners, that the King ordered that from that time forward they should have, not only the spiritual, but also the civil management of the Indians.

It is impossible to explain the true cause of these repeated persecutions of the missioners better than by introducing here the words of John de Maia, Supreme Governor of Maranhão, who, on September 10, 1725, wrote as follows to John V. of Portugal—

The Fathers of the Society in this State of Maranhão are objects of enmity, and have always been held in hatred, for no other cause than their strenuous defence of the liberty of the unfortunate Indians, and because they have exerted all their force to oppose the tyrannical oppression of those who would reduce to a base and unjust slavery men whom nature has made free, and because they take every possible care that the laws of your Majesty on this point shall be most exactly observed. They devote themselves entirely to the promotion of the salvation of souls, and the increase of the possessions of your Majesty, and have added many sons to the Church and subjects to your Majesty from among these barbarous nations.

He then explains how it is that they add subjects to the Crown.

In the late expedition that I have had made up the two rivers, Tapajosi and Madeira, these Fathers, according to their custom, penetrated amongst the barbarous inhabitants of those parts, and so softened them by their tact, that many thousands of them resolved to embrace the faith of Christ, and willingly to submit to your Majesty.

He then shows in how many cases they have done the same thing, persuading them to leave their woods, to follow Christ, and lead a civilized life in obedience to the King. He adds that for this work a great increase of the number of labourers is required, and begs the King to command the Provincial of the Society in Portugal to send as many as he can to cultivate the vineyard, and to assist them in their expenses from the Royal Treasury. He then gives us the following important testimony regarding the so-called commerce of the Jesuits:

For whatever is vomited against these Fathers by wicked calumniators, who, excited by hatred and envy, talk nonsense and utter falsehoods about the gain and the profits that they derive from these missions, I declare to your Majesty with the most solemn assurance, and I speak of a matter with which I am thoroughly acquainted, that the Fathers of the Society are the only true missioners of these regions. Whatever they receive from their labour among the Indians, is applied to the good of the

Indians and to the decency and ornament of the churches, which in these missions are always very neat and beautiful. Nothing whatever that is derived from the missions is kept for themselves. As they have nothing of their own, whatever each missioner sends is delivered to the Procurator of the missions. It is all turned to the utility of the mission from which it came, and is in no way converted to their own use. . . . Missioners of other Orders send quite as much produce, but each one keeps his own portion separate, to be used as he likes, so that the quantity, however great, being divided, does not make impression upon those who see it. But as the missionaries of the Society send everything together to the Procurator of the missions, the quantity seen all together excites the minds of the malevolent and envious.[3]

Still not many years elapsed before the complaints of the merchants were renewed, and, in 1736, Paul de Silva-Nuñez was sent to Europe to lay their case before the King, and in particular to warn him against the increasing power of the Jesuits, and the danger of their setting up an independent State. John V., with a desire of possessing himself thoroughly of the whole question before he made any enactment, sent out Edwardo dos Santos as special commissioner to the colony of Maranhão, with orders to examine everything that regarded the treatment of the natives and the conduct of the Society. After spending a period of twenty months in investigation of the subject, after visiting all the missions and examining witnesses most reliable for knowledge and truth, in his official report, this commissioner, whose character places him above suspicion of partiality, wrote as follows—

The execrable barbarity with which the Indians are reduced to slavery, has become such a matter of custom, that it is rather looked on as a virtue. All that is brought forward against this inhuman custom is received with such repugnance, and so quickly forgotten, that the Fathers of the Society, in whose charity these unfortunate creatures often find refuge and protection, and who take compassion on their miserable lot, for this very reason become, more than any other body, an object of hatred to these avaricious men.

[3] *Vita Patris Emmanuelis Correa, Animadv.* i. p. 175. Fano S. Martini, 1789.

Such was the verdict on the conduct of the Society but a few years before Carvalho came into power. During the interval that succeeded the same passions were at work, and we need not be surprised if the same calumnies recur. The difference was, they had now a sure support in Lisbon, and it was impossible not to see in the new Minister the doom, not merely of the Society, but of the Indians of the Maranhão. When Carvalho began to see the results of his enterprize for the exchange of territory, hoping to have everything more completely in his own hands, he sent out his brother, Francis Xavier Mendoza, as Governor of Gran Para and Maranhão, and Captain General of all the Portuguese forces in South America. The new Governor sailed from Lisbon on July 2, 1753, with a large squadron and a considerable body of troops. We have already seen, on the testimony of his uncle, what judgment was to be formed as to the fitness of this man for such a post. He possessed, however, this qualification—he was a faithful servant of his brother, and had capacity enough to see that his prospects of advancement lay in his zeal in carrying out his brother's designs. His orders were to humble the Jesuits, and if any of them opposed his will, to send them to Portugal, saying that such was the order of the sovereign.[4] From the date of the arrival of Mendoza there was a change in the state of things in Maranhão. Every kind of vexation was heaped on the Fathers. The missioners were ordered to teach the Indians Portuguese, without consideration of the impossibility of fulfilling such an order. Instruction was to be given only in Portuguese, which the people did not understand, it having been looked on as evidently more reasonable for the Fathers to learn their language than to attempt to teach a whole nation a language of Europe. Christian Indians were exposed to the brutality and violence of soldiers quartered on them without redress, and settlements under the care of the Jesuits were especially selected for this purpose.

In the beginning of the year 1754, a Council was held in Lisbon on the question of expelling the Society from

[4] *Compendio Istorico dell' Espulsione dei Gesuiti*, p. 19.

Maranhão. Carvalho strongly urged it, but the Queen-mother being still alive, the King would not consent without taking her advice.[5] But the Queen died in August of this year, and there was no longer any influence at Court to resist the animosity of the Minister. Thus the fate of this flourishing mission was sealed.

On June the 6th, 1755, a despatch was sent to the Governor ordering him to withdraw all the temporal and civil management of the Indian missions from the Fathers of the Society and the Capuchins. As usual in these cases, Carvalho took care to show the purity of his motives in this step. It was, as we are told in the decree, because 'all ecclesiastics, as ministers of God and His Church, are forbidden by canon law to meddle with secular government;' 'because in particular the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, by virtue of their vow, are incapable of exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in *foro externo*;' and as to the Capuchins, 'on account of their indispensable humility, civil and criminal jurisdiction are incompatible with their state.' It was 'that God might be better served, and the sacred Canons and Apostolical Constitutions have their effect; and because the colony could never enjoy prosperity in the midst of so strange a confusion of such various jurisdictions.' For all these reasons he abrogates the Royal Decree of December 21, 1686, by which the civil government of the neophytes, as in the Reductions of Paraguay, was intrusted to the Fathers. He forgot to notice that the special arrangements for these missions had been repeatedly sanctioned by the Holy See, the ever-vigilant guardian of the sacred Canons, and that experience had proved how admirably the system provided for the spiritual and temporal benefit of the Indians, and how it alone served as a check to the cruelty of the Portuguese, who without it would long since have ruined all hopes of imparting a Christian civilization to these poor creatures. But it was the object of the Minister to dispense with the services of the Jesuits. Unfortunately, he had a ready cooperator in D. Miguel de Bulhoens, Bishop of Gran Para. This prelate at once threw himself into the views of Carvalho and Mendoza, in the hope,

[5] *Vita di Sebastiano Giuseppe Carvalho*, vol. i. p. 48.

says the author of the *Anecdotes*,[6] of obtaining a bishopric in Portugal for his reward, in which, in fact, he was not disappointed. One of the first signs of the spirit of this prelate was the judgment which he formed that two Colleges of the Society in Maranhão were unnecessary, in consequence of which he suppressed one, restricted the number of Fathers in the other to twelve, and caused the rest to be sent to Portugal as injurious to religion, as their credit was dangerous and their fidelity suspected.[7] The first three who were banished were Fathers Roche Hundertpfund, Theodore da Cruz, and Antonio José, all three men eminent for their zeal and labours, of whom José had been appointed by the King, on account of his scientific knowledge, to take part with the Spanish commissioners for the settlement of the boundaries. The pretexts on which they were banished are too ridiculous to be worth recording here. They were told that it was the King's order. On their arrival at Lisbon they presented themselves at the palace to hear the King's wishes. The King knew nothing of their coming, and told them to go where they pleased; but this liberty was quickly withdrawn. They were ordered to keep at a certain distance from Lisbon, with a prohibition to communicate with any one. The constant vigilance of the Minister to keep the truth from reaching the King may account for this. Father Hundertpfund had started for Germany when officers were despatched to detain him, but he had crossed the frontier so as to be beyond their reach. The Fathers had been in the habit of writing regularly to the King to report on the state of the missions. Mendoza and Bulhoens now took this into their own hands, and the letters which the Fathers had written were intercepted.[8] Carvalho ordered the Bishop to publish the Bull of Benedict XIV., *Immensa Pastorum*.[9] In this Bull the Pontiff insists on the liberty of the Indians; the Minister

[6] *Anecdotas*, vol. i. p. 23.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] P. 24.

[9] This Bull had been kept back by the Crown of Portugal because it had been obtained at the instance of the King of Spain, in consequence of the cruelty of the Portuguese adjoining his States.

intended it as a confirmation of the act by which he withdrew them from the authority of the Fathers. But the truth is that that Bull was issued at the earnest prayer of the missioners in order to restrain the rapacity of the Portuguese, so much so that, as the author of the *Anecdotes* tells us,[10] the Bishop, in publishing it, to excite the people against the Society, expressly told the colonists that this Bull was due to the Jesuits, and that it was to them they owed this restriction on their liberty.

In the meantime, extravagant stories were circulated by Carvalho as to the power of the Jesuits in Maranhão. Indian villages of which the Jesuits had the management were magnified into cities and towns, which were said to own no rulers except the Jesuits. Two little pieces of cannon which had been given them, and which were fired on days of great rejoicing, but had never been loaded with ball, were represented as a formidable park of artillery. A disorder in a regiment of soldiers who had been left by Mendoza without the necessaries of life, was called a rebellion of the troops instigated by the Jesuits. And, in fine, every kind of misrepresentation was adopted to prepare the public for the blow which the Minister had long since determined on, the first steps of which will have to be noticed in another chapter.

[10] *Anecdotas*, vol. i. p. 85.

CHAPTER IV.

Beginning of Persecution.

WHILST these events were passing in South America, the Society of Jesus in Portugal was beginning to feel the wrath of the Minister. The first victims were Father Emmanuel Ballister and Father Benedict Fonseca, and the pretext of their expulsion was so transparent that it served only to show the excess of Carvalho's own disappointment at the failure of a favourite scheme. I have already spoken of the company of Maranhão. Father Ballister, preaching in the Patriarchal Church of Lisbon on the text, *Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis*, spoke of the salvation of souls under the figure of a company which would give them a hundred-fold in return, and compared the rich interest of eternal life with the paltry fruits that all human transactions could give. He was accused of having denounced the company of Maranhão, and of having declared that those who took part in it would be excluded from the kingdom of heaven. It was represented that the Jesuits decried the company because they saw that it was fatal to their own pretended commerce. The King gave credit to the story, and without further information ordered the preacher to be exiled to Braganza. He was allowed only an hour to prepare for his journey. But before his departure he put the manuscript of his sermon into the hands of the Provincial, with these words written on the margin : 'I declare on oath that this sermon is just as I delivered it, and that I have not altered a word.'[1] Father Fonseca was accused of having taken part in presenting to the King a petition repre-

[1] *Anecdotas do Ministerio de Pombal*, vol. i. p. 18.

senting the disastrous consequences which must inevitably follow on the establishment of the same company. This petition was the work of some of the principal merchants in Lisbon, but the Father had not only no hand in it, but no knowledge of it. He was nevertheless sent into banishment, and all who were known to have had any part in it, whom Carvalho had any object in ruining, were involved in a common disgrace. The Abbade Diogo de Mendoza, Minister of Marine, whose talents and character had gained for him the deserved esteem of the King, was banished forty leagues from the city, and afterwards to Mazagan, in Africa. This place being taken from the Portuguese in 1769, he was brought back to Lisbon, and ended his days in prison. Antonio de Costa Freire, Treasurer General, and Gonzalo Joseph de Silveira, Counsellor for the Indies, shared the same fate. Meantime the severest orders were sent to the Minister's brother, Francis Xavier Mendoza, Governor of Gran Para and Maranhão, who faithfully seconded his brother's views by harassing the Fathers and their flocks with vexations of all kinds, and sending prisoners to Portugal those who most incurred his displeasure or dared to remonstrate with him, saying that the King had ordered it.

It was in this way, in the autumn of 1755, that the three celebrated missioners, Father Roche Hundertpfund, Father Theodore da Cruz, and Antonio José, already mentioned, were exiled from the mission. All three had by great labours and at the risk of their lives added many souls to the Church, and numerous faithful subjects to the Crown of Portugal.

Things were in this state when the great earthquake of November the 1st, 1755, for a time absorbed all attention. With the capital in ruins, Carvalho for a moment forgot both the nobles and the Jesuits. This earthquake was one of those great events which happen but once in the history of a nation. As with the burning of Moscow or the plague of London, or the Great Revolution, though the flames are extinguished, though the pestilence has passed away, and order is restored, there remain traces which cannot be effaced, and the great calamity stands out in bold relief for generations afterwards as an epoch

in history. So it has been with this terrible earthquake. A century has passed, and even men who were then unborn feel and speak of it as if the ruins were now before them. It is no exaggeration to say that Lisbon was destroyed. Thousands of the inhabitants lay dead, or struggling between life and death, beneath the wreck of the city; thousands of others were swallowed up by the gaping earth; fire burst out and raged amongst the ruins; while the Tagus, rising to a prodigious height, carried destruction over districts which had escaped both the fire and the earthquake, and torrents of rain destroyed what the tide had spared. It was truly a time to flee to the mountains. The miserable inhabitants, driven terror-stricken from their homes, knew not which way to turn. Famine and pestilence were before them; while every moment brought new shocks, which made them fear that the worst was not yet passed. It was a supreme moment for the display of the highest virtue; but, as so often happens in such circumstances, it served, too, as an occasion for the development of the worst of passions. All that was good and noble in Lisbon hastened to carry succour to the distressed. The King was moved to compassion at the sight of so much misery, and exerted himself with praiseworthy energy to relieve the distress of his subjects. The Jesuits, says Crétineau, were foremost in the work of mercy. Everywhere they were to be found carrying succour to the wounded, burying the dead, and seeking shelter for the homeless. Though the seven houses of the Society in Lisbon were destroyed, they thought only of the misery they saw around them, seeing their Divine Master in every one whom this terrible calamity placed in need of succour. The whole city resounded with the names of Father Malagrida and Brother Blaise. Carvalho, though, according to the author of his life,[2] little moved by compassion, seconded the merciful designs of the King, giving many useful orders for the relief of the wretched beings who lay half dead among the ruins, and chastising severely the thieves who found occasion for plunder in the universal confusion. M. de Saint Priest mentions

[2] *Vita*, vol. i. p. 98.

that the King wished to fly, but that Carvalho interposed, telling him the King's place was among his subjects. But his jealousy of any influence besides his own showed itself even here. The Marquis da Lorna, being asked by the King what measures should be taken in such a crisis, answered promptly: 'There are three things to be done—bury the dead, provide for the living, and close the gates.' Carvalho, under pretence of approbation of such wise counsel, sent the Marquis to Setubal to purchase provisions, but never let him return to Lisbon.[3] Amongst the few houses which remained standing was that of Carvalho. And such was the infatuation of the King that he looked on this circumstance as a mark of special Providence in reward of the fidelity of the Minister, while its effect on Carvalho himself was to increase the indifference he displayed to the misery around him.[4]

The devotion of the Fathers during these scenes of terror checked the designs of the Minister for their destruction. The King was so moved that he called back Fathers Ballister and Fonseca from exile, and the Patriarch wrote a letter to the Provincial, thanking him formally for their services. But the truce was not to be of long duration. For the moment the Minister took his measures for rebuilding Lisbon and restoring order, and the Fathers pursued their labours with more than usual zeal, taking advantage of the visible chastisement of God to exhort the sufferers to penance, pointing out to them that these natural events are directed by God for the punishment of sin, and preaching with Apostolical liberty against the too well known vices of the capital. Carvalho was offended, as if such teaching were a reflection upon his government. He said publicly that such events were purely natural and had no connection with the punishment of sin. He caused Malagrida to be banished from the capital, under the pretence that he was exciting the people by terrifying prophecies, and disposing them for sedition. Nothing, indeed, could be further from the truth. Malagrida endeavoured to draw the people to repentance for sin, patience in their sufferings, and confidence in God, showing them that

[3] *Vita*, p. 99. [4] P. 101.

even these terrible disasters would turn to their happiness if they would give themselves to His service. But Carvalho had other objects in view, and Malagrida, who was looked on by the whole people as a saint, was a stumbling-block to him. He received notice to go into exile at Setubal, while he was engaged in giving the Spiritual Exercises on the first anniversary of the earthquake, November 1, 1756.

The measures taken by the Minister to repair the losses incurred and to restore order were unfortunate. Great charity had been shown to Portugal by neighbouring nations in the hour of its need. Ships laden with provisions and all kinds of necessary articles arrived in the Tagus from all parts of Europe and particularly from England. The British Parliament voted a sum of £40,000 to relieve the survivors by the earthquake, and presents of great value were sent to the sovereign by the King of England. It was just at this juncture that Carvalho, to obtain means to rebuild the city, announced a tax of four per cent. upon all foreign goods. This weighed most severely upon the greatest benefactors of the country. The foreign ambassadors protested, but they only received for answer that no doubt the King had considered all that they alleged. The terrible distress which now overwhelmed the poor of Lisbon drove vast numbers to acts of depredation. Without discriminating between the necessitous and the lawless, and instead of adopting the generous policy of encouraging every means that could help in relieving distress, Carvalho distributed food with a parsimonious hand, and erected a multitude of gibbets in various parts of the city, giving orders that whoever was taken in any act of depredation or violence should be executed at once, without trial or form of law. The frightful sight of three hundred and fifty culprits hanging from the gallows, says the author of his life, soon told the scared population what kind of a master they had to serve.[5] It was now that the nobility and the rich began to feel the weight of his hand. By degrees however as yet—for many of them stood too high in the public esteem for him to dare to lay

[5] *Vita*, vol. i. p. 106.

hands on them till a more favourable occasion should present itself.

There was, however, one obstacle in the course of Carvalho. He feared that the Jesuits who were at Court might yet succeed in influencing the mind of the King, and lead him to shake off the fetters with which he was bound hand and foot by his inexorable master. Of these Fathers there were five connected with the palace—Father Joseph Moreira, confessor of the King and Queen, Father Timothy de Oliveira, instructor of the Infanta, Father Hyacinth da Costa, confessor of Don Pedro, and Father Manuel de Campos and Father Joseph Aranguez, who directed the consciences respectively of Don Antonio and Don Manuel, uncles of the King. All these Fathers enjoyed the highest esteem at Court, and were especially loved by Don Pedro. We have seen the jealousy already excited by Carvalho against this Prince. There had been seeds of this from the beginning, owing to a certain predilection which the late King had shown to his second son, in the idea that the kingdom being the inheritance of his first born, the other had more need of his favour. It appears that some evil counsellor at Court had suggested to Joseph that the Jesuits were the cause of the favour shown to Pedro, and some feeling of resentment had remained in his heart notwithstanding his esteem for the Fathers about him. In these circumstances it was not difficult for Carvalho to persuade him that the Fathers encouraged the Prince in his supposed pretensions, and that the obligations which the nobles were under to them, on account of having received their education at their hands, made them too powerful in the country, and a constant source of danger to his Majesty. The libels which he put into the King's hands increased this impression. Of these there was no want, for Carvalho spared no pains, as we shall see later, to spread on every side what was written in other countries by heretics, and in Portugal by his own agents, against the Society of Jesus.

In the meantime the mind of the King was filled with stories of the crimes of the Jesuits in Maranhão. There had been a time when every vessel that sailed for that country

carried new recruits of the Society to reap the ever increasing harvest of the Gospel. Now not a vessel came from the ports of Portuguese America that did not bring with it numbers of the same Society whose presence in the colony the Captain General found to be injurious to the public good. Not only the Fathers of the Society, but merchants and others, and especially the Capuchin Fathers, bore testimony to the innocence of the missioners and the oppression of the Governor; but every means possible was taken to prevent such information from reaching the ears of the King. Father Louis Centurioni, then General of the Society, wrote to the King expressing his deep regret that the Fathers of Maranhão had incurred his displeasure, and offering to take the strongest measures to remedy any evils that might have crept in among them, if only the defects were pointed out. To this letter he received no answer. Most probably it never passed beyond the hands of the Minister. But it was evident to him that, with the Jesuit confessors at Court, he could not long keep the King in darkness as to the true state of affairs in America.

He considered then that the time had now come for striking a decisive blow. The presence of the Fathers at the Court was to him a constant subject of uneasiness. In their character of confessors it was impossible for him to prevent their having access to the King at any hour, and they might succeed in causing the monarch to open his eyes to the real state of the country, and the evils into which the Minister was about to plunge it. We have already spoken of his plan of marrying the Princess of Brazil to the Duke of Cumberland, a project which Father Moreira, the confessor of the King, would never consent to. Another design of the Minister, proposed with an equal carelessnèss as to its effects on religion, had been abandoned, it was said, only on the strong representations of the Jesuits. It was that of giving great privileges to the Jews, on the condition of their undertaking to rebuild the city after its ruin by the great earthquake. Any one of these causes sufficed to make the presence of these Fathers obnoxious to the Minister. A circumstance now occurred which precipitated

the blow. It happened that on September 19, 1757, Father Moreira determined to speak to the King on the injustice to the Fathers and the injury to religion that were being done in Maranhão, and went to the Palace in the evening for that purpose. He found in the antechamber the Cardinal Saldanha, Carvalho, the Duke d'Affoes, all three members of the royal council, and many others, waiting for an audience. The King returned from hunting much later than usual, and the Father, thinking the hour too late, merely kissed the King's hand, determining to speak to him more at leisure on the following day. Carvalho guessed his design, and resolved to execute his own project that very night. Late as the hour was, a council was held, in which he urged upon the King the imperative necessity of removing the Jesuits from their posts of confessors to the royal family. He represented that things could never be satisfactorily adjusted in America as long as the Jesuits in that country could count on the influence of their brethren with his Majesty, and that to remove this evil influence it was necessary to forbid the Fathers all access to the Palace. The King was very unwilling to yield to this proposal. He shrank from a step for which he saw no sufficient reason, and which might be attended with so much scandal, and it was only on the Minister's urging that this was the sole means of preventing still greater evils, that, with much hesitation and urging motives for delay, he signed the decree which excluded all Jesuits from their office of confessors of the Court. The very same night, after the Fathers who resided in the Palace at Belem had retired to their rooms, they received notice to start at once for Lisbon in carriages that were already prepared for them, but to take nothing with them, as their effects would be sent to the College the following morning. On hearing of this unexpected order, the Provincial went at once to inquire its meaning, but received notice that neither he nor any other Jesuit was for the future to set foot in the Palace. He succeeded however in obtaining an interview with Carvalho, and was then told by the Minister that the King wished only to show his resentment at the conduct of the Jesuits in Maranhão.

When the Father replied that that was out of his jurisdiction, Carvalho answered, 'I know you are all one body, and have a secret understanding among yourselves.' Thus was made the first open breach in that union which had existed for so many years between the Kings of Portugal and the Society of Jesus.

The Institute and its members were in too high repute for it to be possible for such an act to escape censure unless some very serious cause could be shown for its justification. Still less could the Minister proceed with credit in the course on which he had determined till the way had been prepared by diminishing their reputation with the people. And, indeed, Carvalho was clear-sighted enough to be aware that, in so religious a country as Portugal then was, it was necessary to secure some colour of approbation of his conduct on the part of the Holy See. To this enterprize then he directed his attention. To destroy all at once the esteem of the Society at home was a difficult enterprize, as they enjoyed at this time the confidence of all classes of the nation. He had acknowledged too that no fault was to be found with the Fathers in Portugal. But the conduct of those of America, owing to the distance and difficulty of communication, was more easily misrepresented, and he saw that even if the truth should finally be established, in the meantime his immediate end would be gained—a justification of the step just taken, and a diminution of confidence in a body whose character till now had seemed unassailable. This, like the smallest breach in a fortress, would be a sensible advantage. For this purpose he published a pamphlet entitled, *A short account of the Republic which the Jesuits have established in the Spanish and Portuguese dominions of the New World, and of the War which they have carried on against the armies of the two Crowns, all extracted from the Registers of the Commissaries and Plenipotentiaries, and other authentic documents.* It was the practice of Carvalho in his war against the Society, when he had any heavy blow in store, to strike it on some day of universal festivity and rejoicing. On this principle, the feast of St. Francis Xavier,

December 3, of this year, was chosen for the distribution of this pamphlet. A copy was sent to each of the foreign Ambassadors, and to all the Bishops of the country. A large number were distributed in Rome among the Cardinals and other influential persons, and the Ambassadors of Portugal in foreign countries were ordered to have it translated into the languages of their respective Courts. Whether this book was really written by Carvalho or not, we cannot decide on external evidence, and it is not of much consequence. But whoever has read his official documents against the Society will not hesitate to attribute this to the same pen. Carvalho never accused lightly. Every crime was heinous. He heaped up the most terrible accusations, as if to render defence useless. Every act betrayed the overbearing passion of his own soul. It is quite certain that the libel was everywhere spread by his authority, and universally believed to be his work. Of this and similar works, the Count de Avalaõ says, 'The works which appeared in Portugal against those whom Carvalho designed to ruin, were for the most part from his pen, at least the public judged so, and in fact they exactly breathed his spirit.'[6] It is said that twenty thousand copies of this work, in Latin, Italian, and Portuguese, were printed in Lisbon,[7] and that the Minister spent 70,000 crowns in its diffusion. A very short description of this libel will suffice. It would be enough to state that it is in direct contradiction to all that has been proved by so many testimonies as to the state of the missions of Paraguay.

We are told in it that the power of the Society had for many years been so great, that it was evident the Government would have to sustain a severe war with them; that they were labouring sedulously to undermine the good understanding existing between the Governments of Portugal and Spain; that their machinations were carried on from the Plata to the Rio Grande (where, however, there were no Jesuits, but Carmelites); that they had under them thirty-one great populations, producing immense riches for the Society, while the people themselves were

[6] *Disc. sob. a hist.* tom. iii. vid. *Anecdotas*, i. 98. [7] *Ibid.*

kept in the most miserable slavery; that no Spaniard or Portuguese, were he even Governor or Bishop, was ever admitted into the Reductions; that, 'with strange deceit,' the Spanish language was absolutely forbidden; that the Indians were trained to an unlimited, blind obedience, kept in the most 'extraordinary ignorance,' and the most unsufferable slavery ever known, and under a complete despotism as to body and soul; that they did not know there was any other sovereign in the world than the Fathers, and knew nothing of the King, or any other law than the will of the 'holy Fathers;' that the Indians were taught that white laymen adored gold, had a devil in their bodies, were the enemies of the Indians and of the images which they adored; that they would destroy their altars, and offer sacrifices of their women and infants; and they were consequently taught to kill white men wherever they could find them, and to be careful to cut off their heads, lest they should come to life again. It is, moreover, asserted that these Fathers, to oppose the Treaty of Limits, carried on a war against the two Governments; that they had among them engineers disguised as Jesuits; that all the passes leading to the Reductions were fortified and defended with artillery; that having asked for a delay, which the most pious and religious King had granted, it was found that they were using the time allowed in arming the Indians and exciting them to revolt; that Gomez had come to the conclusion that the war was not against the Indians, but against the Jesuits; and that till they were expelled, the King would meet with nothing but rebellion. A description is given of the attack of the Spanish and Portuguese forces on the intrenched camp of the enemy, who occupied an eminence well fortified and defended with artillery. The combined armies attacked the position with great valour, and carried it after an obstinate resistance, the enemy being obliged to fly, leaving twelve hundred dead, with banners, cannon, and munitions of war. (The reader will here remember the description of the weakness of the Jesuits given by Carvalho to Da Cunha, where he says sixty Portuguese sufficed to put to flight an army of a thousand Indians disciplined by the Jesuits.)

Again and again, as they advanced, they came upon large bodies of Indians intrenched in strategic points with such skill that, if the work was done by Indians, they must have been taught the art of fortification instead of Christian doctrine. On the arrival of the army at the Reduction of St. John, they are said to have found three important documents in the Guarani language. The first was an exhortation addressed by the chief caciques to the Indians at the commencement of hostilities and attributed to the Fathers. It began with the name of Jesus, reminded them that they were children of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, exhorted them to consecrate themselves fervently to our Lord, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael, the Holy Angels, and all the court of heaven, to recite daily their prayers and the most holy Rosary, &c. Then followed an inflammatory address calling on them to resist the Portuguese, and not to give up their lands to them. The second paper was a letter written by the people of the Orantes to the chief of the Reduction of St. Francis Xavier, exhorting him to vigour in the war. It began thus: 'Governor Joseph Tiarayu,—May God our Lord, and His most holy Immaculate Mother, and our Father St. Michael, be with you and all the soldiers who dwell in this settlement.' The third was a letter in the Guarani language, pretended, it is said, to have been written by the caciques, but in reality by the Fathers, to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, protesting against the destruction of their homes. It contained an account of the miraculous reception of a letter from heaven, evidently intended to represent the superstitious ignorance in which the Indians were kept. Even if the genuineness of these documents were in any way probable, the supposition that they were composed by the Fathers would be more than gratuitous. It is therefore useless to dwell longer on them. In the chapter on Maranhão, we have the 'abuse upon abuse,' 'the rigorous slavery,' and 'inhuman and intolerable despotism;' again, the 'blind obedience,' 'impious usurpation of the liberty of rational beings, in spite of the censures of Paul III. and Urban VIII. Again, commerce 'in spite of the sacred canons and the severe Apostolic Constitutions,

'monopolies forbidden by the Divine and natural law,' carried on to the injury of the Carmelites of Rio Negro, the raising of rebellion among the Indians, &c. The picture is coloured with extracts, supposed to be taken from the diary of Carvalho's brother Mendoza.[8]

There is no need of comment on this fable. Whoever has read the previous chapters of this volume and in particular the declaration of the King of Spain himself, will be satisfied with the evidence there given. In South America it was received with derision, and in the Courts of Europe with contempt and disgust. Cordara tells us that Benedict XIV. laughed at it as a romance.[9] The people of Portugal no sooner knew its author than they ceased to make any account of it. Don Miguel de Tavora, Archbishop of Evora, forbade it in his diocese, and Don Dionysius Bernades, prelate of the patriarchal church, said publicly that it was a mortal sin to read it.[10] The Prior of the Discalced Carmelites in Lisbon assembled his community, severely forbade them to read it, and publicly consigned it to the flames.'[11] There were, however, some who were deceived, and amongst them the Nuncio Acciajuoli, who, after reading it, said to Father Henriquez the Provincial, that in Portugal certainly the Jesuits were worthy people, but in South America they deserved the gallows and the rack. He lived to be undeceived, in time to meet his own disgrace, but not to save the Society. It may be added to what has already been said, that Valdelirios, on his return to Spain, denied having written the letters attributed to him,[12] and that in all that regarded Paraguay, the official examination made by Don Zevalos, to which I have already referred, and Don John Ignatius Lacoizqueta, Vicar-General of Santa Fé, are sufficient answer. Moreover an official of State declared on oath that Carvalho had in his office papers proving the contrary of all he asserted. On this judgment of Don Zevalos, Don

[8] *Raccolta d'Opuscoli; Breve Relazione*, &c., p. 8. Lugano, 1760.
[9] Unpublished MS. [10] *Ibid.* [11] *Vita*, vol. i. p. 129.
[12] *Anecdotas*, vol. ii. p. 47.

Francesco Guttierez de la Huerta, in his report to the Council of Castile, April 12, 1815, speaks as follows—

What did he find among this innocent people? The report of Zevalos himself will tell us what he found. He found the veil drawn away, and evidence of the falseness of stories invented in Europe; a people subject to rule, not roused to rebellion; peaceful vassals, and not a people in revolt; exemplary religious, instead of seducers; zealous missionaries, instead of chiefs of bandits; in a word, a people conquered to religion and the State with no other arms than those of sweetness, good example, and charity; an empire composed of civilized savages, who had come of their own accord to demand a knowledge of the law, who had subjected themselves voluntarily to it, and were held together by the bonds of the Gospel, the practices of virtue, and the simple manners of the first ages of Christianity.[13]

It may be here noticed that, independently of the abundant evidence I have given of the falseness of the assertions in Carvalho's book, it would be difficult to reconcile the extreme ignorance and miserable slavery of these people with their knowledge of fortification, or even with the organization attributed to them, and still more with the written instructions which they must at least have been able to read. Nor could we explain the reference to the King which the documents contain, if, as was asserted, no such being were known to them. Nor is it likely they would have made common cause with the Fathers—they would rather have hailed the arrival of the Spaniards as deliverers, had the despotism under which they groaned been so insufferable. But Carvalho was too reckless in his fabrications to be long consistent with himself. His affectation of piety at the beginning of an inflammatory call to war, is too unnatural to be more than a fiction of one who knew something of the letter but nothing of the spirit. It is significant too to see the prominence given to the accusations respecting the obedience exacted by the Fathers, and this by a man who obtained from the King a law making opposition to his Minister high treason, on the plea that it was implicitly

[13] *Esposicion y dictamen*, &c. Cited by Crétineau Joly, *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jesus*, v. 133.

opposition to the sovereign—a man whose will was so terrible that the least penalty involved in resistance to it, or in sympathy with those he persecuted, was perpetual exile or confinement in a dungeon. Tyrants are impatient of all exercise of authority except their own. Obedience, we shall see, was the great charge against the Society in France also. This outcry did not long precede the loosening of every tie of authority which that country has had to deplore. The Indians, it was said, were too obedient to the Fathers—and at this moment, when the Indians have been taught to disobey, neither Spain nor Portugal has a subject on the continent of America.

About the same time other works of a similar character were published in Lisbon and Rome. One of these is entitled *Appendix to the Brief Relation*, &c. It is a fair example of the contradictions contained in the reckless assertions of this Minister. In this book there is mention of two Frenchmen who, having become separated by chance from the crew of a vessel from Nantes, were lost in the forests. After some time they perceived some Indians with beads round their necks, who received them with great cordiality, 'for these Indians,' we are told, 'are very partial to the French, and distinguish them from all other nations.' They were then conducted to the mission, 'a distance of more than two hundred leagues from the spot where they were.' They were received well by the Jesuits, and remained there four months without going out of the precincts of the house. They were then sent back to Buenos Ayres with a detachment of Indians whom the Governor had asked for. The riches of the church are then described. In the first place there are three great paintings, with frames of massive gold and silver. Above these is a heavy cupola, with bas-reliefs in gold; and above again, carvings in wood, enriched with gold. At each side of the altar are statues of saints in massive silver. The tabernacle is of gold; the ostensorium of gold, enriched with emeralds and other precious stones. The front and sides of the altar are adorned with cloth of gold. It is furnished with candlesticks and vases of gold and silver. In the nave is a candelabrum of thirty branches, composed of silver, enriched with

gold, &c., hung from the vault by a chain of massive silver.[14] We have seen authentic proof that the precious metals were never found in the Reductions, nor is it likely they would have been imported from elsewhere. But the point to which I wish to call the reader's attention is this—What kind of insupportable slavery was that in which the Indians could wander by themselves two hundred leagues from their settlement? and how was it that they were so partial to the French that they distinguished them from all other nations, if no European whatever, even Bishop or Governor, was allowed to put foot in the Reductions? Or what was the independence of the Reductions if the Governor of Beunos Ayres could call for a detachment of men when he needed them? Here we have some of those contradictions into which falsehood rarely fails to fall.

Again, we have *Letters of the Portuguese Minister to the Minister of Spain on the Jesuitical Empire*, *The Republic of Maranhão*, *The History of Nicholas I.*, and many others on the same subject. The last has this of interest in it, that it was first published by the Calvinists of Holland, and appears to have given the first idea of Carvalho's Republic. The variety of forms which the libel assumed would alone have sufficed to prove that it was not history but romance that was aimed at. To support the belief that Nicholas was not only a real personage, but a king, coins with his name were actually struck and circulated in Europe. It was said that a Father named Nicholas Plantics had really been crowned King of Paraguay. Plantics was a real character. How far he was a king will appear from the following curious document.

In a work entitled *Fasciculi Ecclesiastico-litterarii*, published by F. Stanislo, Bishop of Grand Waradin, and printed at Pesth in 1841, is the following account of this Father—

Extract from a manuscript written in 1805 at Jasberin, by Valentine Kacksovics, priest of the Society of Jesus, then eighty years of age.

Father Nicholas Plantics, Croat, falsely called King of Paraguay.

[14] *Raccolta d'Opuscoli*, vol. iv. ; *Aggiunto alla Breve Relazione*, p. 69.

Father Nicholas Plantics, Croat by birth and a member of the Austrian Province, was a missionary in America, and chiefly in Paraguay. This country having been divided between Portugal and Spain, the Duke d'Alva (*alias* Aranda) (*sic*), chief Minister of Spain, was displeased that the division did not prove as favourable as he had hoped, for the Paraguayans, refusing to be subject to Spain, all fled from the land. D'Alva sharing the sentiments of Carvalho, in order to influence the minds of the Kings against the Jesuits, caused gold and silver coin to be struck in his own castle in Spain, bearing the inscription, 'Nicolaus Plantics I., Rex Paraguaae.' These coins he scattered in every direction, sending them to all the reigning Princes of Europe and their Courts. Upon this a cry arose on all sides, 'See how the Jesuits are even making themselves Kings!' This rumour continued to prevail after the expulsion of the Society from Portugal, when its banishment from Spain was imminent; and it is certain that coins that were not heard of in America were really struck in Spain. Finally, some years after the universal suppression under Clement XIV., it was known from Spanish accounts very worthy of credit that the Duke d'Alva, before his death, moved by repentance, confessed before legal witnesses that it was by his authority and in his own house that these coins had been struck; moreover, that he was the author of the book printed under the name of the Jesuits against the King of Spain, Ferdinand VI., to the effect that he and his posterity were not the legitimate heirs of the throne. This infamous book was immediately suppressed, nor could the King ever be persuaded that the author was a Jesuit. Finally, when some villain made an attempt on the life of the King, the enemies of the Jesuits attributed this also to them; but the King held them to be above all suspicion. Nicholas Plantics, with other Jesuits, having been put to the torture in the Castle of St. Julian, was at length set at liberty and with John Koffler came to Vienna. When he appeared before her Serene Majesty Queen Maria Teresa, to pay his homage to her, she, rising from her seat, said in joke, 'Welcome, King, my colleague.' Plantics declared upon his oath that it was only on his journey that he had learned for the first time that he had been proclaimed a mock king, of which fable not a word was heard in America, where, had anything of the kind occurred, being in the hands of the Portuguese authorities, he would certainly not have escaped death. The whole report was incredible. Upon which the Queen said, 'Neither did I ever believe it.' She then showed him the coins which had been

sent from Spain. Plantics remained in the province, and was Rector of the College of Waradin when the universal suppression took place. He died in the year 1777.[15]

The writer of this paper has fallen into some confusion in his old age; but this does not destroy its interest as to the substance. He confounds the Duke d'Alva with the Minister Aranda, as if they were the same person. He also says that the Indians of Paraguay refused to be subject to Spain. They had always been subject to Spain, and refused to pay allegiance to the Portuguese, or to migrate from their homes. It is also highly improbable that the coins, which he does not say he ever saw, would have borne the name of Plantics, instead of Nicolaus I. Rex, &c., as is stated by other witnesses. It is evident from this writer that many believed that Plantics was the person referred to in the story, but even that is not certain. There are in the archives of the Gesù letters written by Fathers who had laboured in Paraguay until the expulsion of the Society, in which they tell the General that they had never heard of the story of a king in Paraguay until two years after their return to Europe. A good illustration of the ridicule with which this story was received by the infidel philosophers, is found in a letter of d'Alembert to Frederic II. of Prussia, in which he reminds him 'of a certain battle in Paraguay, fought for the Jesuit King Nicholas, in which the Father Field-Marshal had three Capuchins killed under him.'[16]

The following extracts from the authentic account of the judicial inquiry made into the statements concerning the Jesuits of Paraguay, by Don John Ignatius Lacoizqueta, Vicar and Ecclesiastical Judge of the city of Santa Fé, de Vera Cruz, province of Rio de la Plata, complete our refutation of these calumnies.

Having received information [he says] of several fly sheets printed and disseminated in the capitals of Rome, Madrid, and

[15] De Ravignan, *Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.* vol. ii. p. 41.
[16] *Progetti dei Increduli*, p. 97. Assisi, 1791.

Lisbon, as well as of a libellous pamphlet presented to His Holiness Pope Benedict XIV. of which the following is the title translated from the Portuguese, *Brief Relation of the Republic which the Jesuits*, &c.—and as on the one hand it is one of the greatest and principal obligations of the prelates of the Holy Church to repair scandals and public sins, while as on the other we see perverse men giving way to the most execrable and deplorable excesses of defamation, attacking with malice and an evident mendacity a holy religious body whose works, far otherwise than these diabolical calumnies represent, are very edifying, and have no other object than the salvation of souls, according to the special end of their institute (a fact which is evident and notorious in all these provinces of Buenos Ayres and Paraguay, and in all the cities in the neighbourhood of the missions of the Guarani Indians and especially in this city of Santa Fé); the Vicar has thought himself obliged to act, and has considered that he owed it not only to the honour of so respected an order, outraged in so scandalous a manner, but also to justice and public opinion, to proceed *ex officio*, and in his character of Vicar and Ecclesiastical Judge to take such informations as shall be necessary and suited to cause truth to triumph in a cause of so high importance.

For this purpose, for the entire justification of the accused, and for the purpose of destroying point by point those enormous calumnies, he has resolved, considering their publicity and scandalous notoriety, in order to satisfy his own conscience, to order on each of the points a complete and detailed investigation.

He then proceeds to name Don Pietro de Mendieta, secular priest, Fiscal Procurator for this cause. After this follow the depositions of the witnesses in answer to the several questions proposed. The names of these persons are of no importance now, but their character and the offices they held give weight to their evidence. They are: Don Francis Martinez de Rosas, Procurator General of the city of Santa Fé; Don Manuel Carballo, Governor and Depositor General of the city; Don Manuel Fernandez de Teran, of the same city; Don Antony de Orogna, D.D., incumbent; Don Mathias de Zeburi, D.D., secular priest; Don Marcos de Toledo Pimental, provincial officer of the city. Then follows their deposition on oath, in answer to each question. The Vicar then adds—

That on his part he can certify and does certify that he has proceeded in this matter *ex officio* for the reasons exposed above . . . persuaded that the royal and Catholic piety of a monarch so zealous for the propagation of our holy Catholic faith will receive favourably information in the first place conformable to truth, and moreover calculated to banish from his heart the grief into which it must have been plunged at the sight of excesses and disorders committed in his dominions, especially with reference to the observances and laws of our holy religion, excesses and disorders which the diabolic suggestions and lying assertions of the defamatory pamphlet published against the Rev. Fathers of the Society of Jesus with an astute malignity would fain pass off as real, and that with a falseness as enormous as it is deplorable, since those whose ministry calumny is seeking to vilify are, in the exercise of this very ministry, the principal instruments of the propagation of our holy Catholic faith, and the most zealous workmen for directing and instructing the Indians confided to their care, as every one who dwells in these provinces confesses and acknowledges as evident. . . .

In conclusion the Fiscal Procurator gives his deposition as follows:

I cannot help expressing the profound grief which I feel in seeing this collection of calumnies circulated publicly and in so scandalous a manner in the libellous pamphlet, which a spirit very different from that of Christian charity has caused to be published against religious making profession of the most sound and Catholic doctrine, that is, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, these calumnies being opposed to the most incontestable truth, as is generally attested by the past as well as the present inhabitants of these provinces, and is shown by the testimonies appended to the information. Not only have I nothing to allege in opposition to what is so fully justified in these depositions, but I unite my testimony to the tenour of the same depositions, finding them true and demanding a prompt reparation, the more so as it is a sacred duty for us to watch with care over the well deserved honour of an order as unjustly as falsely calumniated even in that in which should consist its greatest glory, *i.e.*, in the manner in which it accomplishes its apostolic mission. . . .

In faith of which I give my oath required by the law,

D. G. IGNAZ. LACOIZQUETA.

Before me, Carlo Rosa, Public Notary.

In consequence of these proceedings, the Council of Castile, on April the 3rd, 1759, published a decree fully justifying the Jesuit missioners of Paraguay, and condemning their adversaries as caluminators and falsifiers. The supreme tribunal of the Inquisition did the same, and on the 13th of May, 1759, prohibited under severe penalties the reading of the different pamphlets published in Spain against the Jesuits by Pombal and their other enemies.[17] But of this we shall have to speak more fully later.

If we except the Duke d'Alva, no sympathy was shown on the part of men of state with the proceedings of Carvalho. The *Relation* was on three successive occasions burned in the public square of Madrid by the common executioner, on May the 13th, 1758, by Ferdinand VI., and on the 27th of September, 1759, and the 19th of February, 1761, by Charles III., who succeeded to his brother on the throne of Spain on the 10th of August, 1759. As we have already stated, his first act was to break the treaty of exchange, and Don Zevalos, who was sent out as Spanish Governor of Paraguay, rendered ample testimony to the innocence of the Society.

Perhaps this is the best place to mention another celebrated libel against the Society which appeared a little before this time. We have already mentioned the name of Norbert. This man had been a Capuchin Friar, but the Pope, to remove a scandal from the Church and in the vain hope that he would lead a Christian life when freed from higher obligations, had granted him his secularization. He had travelled in various countries, passing first for a native of Lorraine, then as a Swiss, and successively as a native of Holland, England, Prussia, and Portugal, bearing the names of Norbert, Parisot, Platel, and Piter, according as his intrigues with various sects rendered a change of name necessary for his safety. To give an idea of his character, it is enough to cite a letter of the Reverend Father Thomas of Poitiers, Superior General of the Capuchin missionaries of Madras, to the Nuncio in France. In this letter he is called 'a rebel, a turbulent spirit, a proud

[17] De Ravignan, vol. i. p. 423.

and audacious man, the shame of his brethren, an indocile man who knows no superior, whether ecclesiastic or secular, one whose soul is double, without good faith or probity, a dangerous spirit whom it is necessary to distrust, in fine a man capable of anything.' This is the man whose sense of righteousness made him the most bitter opponent of the supposed crimes of the Jesuits. He was now taken into the pay of Carvalho to write against the Society.

Shortly before this time he had appeared before the world as the author of a work, entitled, *Mémoires historiques sur les affaires des Jesuites.* In this work the Jesuits were accused of practising a commerce forbidden by the sacred canons, disobedience to the Pope, and many other crimes. It was submitted for examination to the Congregation of the Index, and in this Congregation Cardinal Passionei undertook its defence. This Cardinal was well known for his opposition to the religious orders, and particularly to the Society of Jesus. To such a degree did he carry this dislike, that d'Alembert writes of him : 'I am assured that the late Cardinal Passionei carried his hatred of the Jesuits to such a point, as not to admit into his fine and extensive library a single writer of the Society. I am sorry for the library and for its master. The one has lost many good books, the other being otherwise, as I am assured, so philosophical, certainly was not so on this point.' [18] Probably the Cardinal did not expect a rebuke from d'Alembert for his opposition to the Society. The present was an occasion in which zeal for the purity of the Church, as M. Crétineau remarks, would naturally have led him to investigate the suspicions and accusations brought against the Society. If they were as guilty as they were said to be, the work of Platel deserved praise for its exposure of crime ; the guilt should have been established, and the offenders brought to justice. But this was not the plea of defence entered by the Cardinal, by disposition, as we know, too ready to find blame where the Jesuits were concerned. He chose rather to plead that the book contained no accusation, that the passages complained of were

[18] *Sur la Destruction des Jesuites in France,* 1765, p. 38.

quotations in which the opinions of others were adduced. He supported his argument by a passage in which, having referred to a letter of M. Martin, Governor of Pondicherry, the author says: 'We do not wish the reader to believe this Governor, or so many others who testify that these Fathers buy and sell the best merchandise of the Indies. They know their duty well. They know that Popes and Councils forbid commerce to ecclesiastics under penalty of excommunication.' Words like these, concludes Passionei, according to the ordinary laws of language, would not be considered an accusation of the crime of traffic. It is impossible not to see in this a real defence of the Society. If Passionei dared not support the imputations of which the work is full, and was obliged to have recourse to such an argument to defend his protege, it is sufficient proof that the accusation rested on too slender grounds to be supported even by so clever an advocate. This work, which may be called the arsenal of the calumniators of the Society with respect to the missions, was condemned by Benedict XIV., April 1st, 1745.[19]

I shall have to return again to the subject of libellous publications in another chapter. We must now follow Carvalho in his advance towards the execution of his great design. Shortly before this time, an event happened at Oporto which illustrates at the same time his eagerness to find a foundation for accusation of the Society and the barbarity of his vengeance when his favourite plans were opposed. I have spoken of the company for the sale of Portuguese wines. Every wine-grower was obliged to sell his wine at a low price to this company, which, having the monopoly of the most valuable wines in their hands, amassed immense riches, out of which a tax of three crowns for each butt was paid to the Minister as Protector, while the inhabitants of Oporto, who had formerly derived great riches from their wine, were ruined. The city was in misery. Many landowners destroyed their vineyards in disgust, and all neglected an industry which ceased to be any profit to them. To add insult to injury, the

[19] *Anecdotas*, vol. ii. pp. 191, 192.

Minister had ordered a solemn *Te Deum* to celebrate the inauguration of the company. The inhabitants of Oporto broke out into open revolt. They gathered in crowds before the house of the chief magistrate, forced him, ill as he was, out of bed, carried him to the house of the Governor, there compelled him to protest against the injustice of the company, and obtained through him a concession of liberty in the sale of wine. The people returned in triumph, sacked the house of the director of the company, met a company of troops sent to enforce order with a shower of stones, and were only reduced to tranquillity on the Governor ordering the Capuchins to make a penitential procession through the city. Carvalho was goaded to fury. He sent his cousin, Don John de Almada, with two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, giving him full powers to punish the guilty according to his discretion. This man was well deserving of the confidence placed in him. The simple statement of the punishment inflicted for this popular outburst, in which not a single individual had been injured, fills one with horror. The chief magistrate was dragged through the city by the common executioner, with a rope round his neck; three hundred persons were confined in the Tower of St. John or other prisons; and of these, twelve men and six women were hanged, and their bodies cut in pieces and exposed in various parts of the city, twenty-six were sent to the galleys, and ninety-nine into exile. Carvalho sent the Archbishop of Lacedemon, suffragan of Lisbon, Dantas Barbosa, to inquire especially into the conduct of the Jesuits; and Don José Mascarenhas Pacheco, afterwards employed as commissioner in the expulsion of the Society from Brazil, showed the Fathers a letter which Carvalho had written to his father, at this time judge in Oporto, ordering him to do all in his power to implicate the Jesuits.[20] But the Archbishop reported conscientiously that he had met with universal testimony as to the innocence of the Society. Notwithstanding this, the Minister, as we shall see later, did not scruple to accuse them to Benedict XIV., of being not only accomplices, but insti-

[20] *Anecdotas*, vol. ii. p. 114.

gators and leaders in the revolt.[21] And, lest the omission of any mention of Jesuits in the criminal process should seem to contradict the charge, he attributed this to the extraordinary clemency of the King, who wished not to discredit a Society to whose saints he had so much devotion.[22] He forgot, however, that the unfortunate victims of his wrath had been each attended on the scaffold by two Jesuits, a circumstance which, had they been in any way accomplices of the revolt, would certainly have excited the indignation of the people.

It is also to be observed that when Father Henriquez, the Provincial of Portugal, on occasion of the dismission of the Fathers from the Palace, asked Carvalho what fault he had to find with the Society, he answered that he had no fault to find with the Jesuits in Portugal, but wished only to exhibit his displeasure at the conduct of the Fathers in Maranhão. It was clear then from this answer that he had no charge which he could safely make against the Society in Portugal, and Maranhão being a distant colony, and beyond the jurisdiction of the Provincial of Portugal, it was difficult on a moment's notice to contradict him. The Provincial could only reply that he would take care to lay his complaints before the Father General. Maranhão was evidently Carvalho's point of attack, and his determination to ruin the Society, both there and in Portugal, was increased by the following circumstance. The post of Secretary of State for the Navy had been held by the the Cavalier Abbade Diogo Mendoza, a man of the highest character, universally beloved by those who knew him, and so esteemed by the King that he used to say, 'The choice of Abbade Mendoza was really my own; Sebastian Carvalho I only took out of condescension to the prayers of my mother.' Mendoza and Carvalho had had a difference of opinion respecting the company of Maranhão of which we have spoken. The King ordered the question to be referred to the

[21] *Compendio dell' Expulsione*, p. 27.

[22] Carvalho robbed the shrine of St. Francis Xavier of its jewels, forbade the honour paid to St. Francis Borgia as protector against earthquakes, and commanded the Mass *De Communi*, instead of the proper, to be said on the feast of St. Ignatius.

old Secretary of State, Pedro de Motta, who was still alive, but confined to his bed with sickness. Carvalho stated the case in such a manner as so far to mislead the old man as to obtain an answer favourable to his views. When Mendoza laid his view before him, he found the question so different, that he attested in writing that he agreed entirely with Mendoza, and had been deceived into the expression of an opposite opinion. The King, in great indignation at such conduct on the part of Carvalho, reprimanded him severely for his want of sincerity in the conduct of affairs. But the artful courtier knew so well how to win the weak King to his side, that he succeeded in convincing him of his own fidelity and entire devotion to his service, and of the falseness of the representations of Mendoza. To the surprise of all Lisbon a proclamation was issued on the following morning, in which this man, whose integrity was manifest to all, was degraded from his office, declared to be faithless to his King, an enemy of the Government, and a traitor to his country. He was banished to a distance of forty leagues from the capital, and was shortly afterwards transported to the fortress of Mazagan in Africa; but that place being taken from the Portuguese in 1769, he was brought back to Lisbon, and ended his days in a dungeon.[23]

Not long before this affair, a memorial had been sent to the King, from the council of the mission of Maranhão consisting of the Bishop and heads of the religious orders of that country, complaining of the violence of Francis Xavier Mendoza, the brother of Carvalho, towards the Society, and praying for a remedy. There were also complaints from the Fathers themselves, addressed to the King, which had been handed to the Secretary of the Navy for examination. This was enough to decide Carvalho to spare no pains to urge on his designs without delay. He renewed his orders to his brother to take the missions from the Fathers, and to send the principal members of the Society in those parts under guard to Lisbon.[24] In consequence of this order, a large number arrived in the Tagus shortly after from Para and Maranhão. They were the Fathers most eminent for their labours and prudence,

[23] *Vita*, i. p. 118. [24] *Ibid.* p. 124.

whose representations were most likely to have weight with the King. But, lest by any means they should have an opportunity of opening his eyes to the truth, they were at once despatched to assigned places of exile, no one being allowed to remain within forty leagues of the capital. They had received no notice of the cause of their banishment from the mission, and the Admiral of the fleet attested that the Captain General had told him that he would do an act most pleasing to the King if he would confine them during the voyage to the hold of the ship, and added that he had received other orders of no less brutality, such as his character as a Christian forbade him to observe. The land journey was performed by circuitous routes, through by-roads, to avoid passing through towns, in consequence of which they suffered extreme privations from fatigue and want of food. The horses broke down on the journey, and often the Fathers, worn out with fatigue, were left at night on the open road on account of the impossibility of continuing the journey till assistance could be brought. Whenever the distance did not exceed forty leagues, they were accompanied by two King's officers, who had orders never to separate from them. These things produced sad forbodings of evils to come nearer home. All had heard of the *Brief Relation* of the Minister, and though few believed it, the violence with which Carvalho never failed to visit his enemies, of which they had already had many examples, and the attitude now shown towards the Society, left a deep and sad impression that a great calamity was at hand.

But the Fathers as yet knew little of the greatness of the danger they were in. They continued to labour in full confidence in their innocence and the esteem of all classes of the country. But a very short while was to elapse before a measure was taken which must have been long in contemplation, but which, by the suddenness with which it was declared, the injustice which brought it about, and the cruelty with which it was executed, threw them into the utmost consternation, and convinced them that the worst was at hand. This must form the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

Reform.

Several circumstances united together made it exceptionally easy for Carvalho at this juncture to carry through a measure such as he had now in contemplation. In the first place he had hedged himself round with agents of his own choice, and in many cases of his own family—men on whom he could count to carry out his designs, however tyrannical and unjust. His brother, Francis Xavier, was Captain General in Brazil and Maranhão; his cousin, the Commendatore Francisco de Almada e Mendoza, was Plenipotentiary in Rome. Don Luiz da Cunha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had been especially selected by him as a suitable instrument for his own purposes. We have seen the appointment of another cousin to chastise the authors of the sedition in Oporto, and we shall shortly have to notice the conferring of the office of Grand Inquisitor on his brother Paul, afterwards honoured with the purple,[1] of whom Cardinal Pacca does not fear to say—'In talents and knowledge he was far inferior to his brother, but in his maxims and his aversion to the Holy See even worse than he."[2] Of Cardinal Passionei, the Secretary of Briefs of Pope Benedict XIV., I have said enough. It was sufficiently evident that whatever influence he possessed with the aged Pontiff would not be urged in favour of the Society. Of

[1] At the pressing instance of Carvalho, Clement XIV. named him Cardinal on Jan. 29, 1770, but he had died four days before. Nevertheless, the Minister had the corpse laid out with all the insignia of a Cardinal (*Vita V. P. E. Correæ, Animadv.* vi. p. 245).

[2] *Notizie sul Portogallo con una breve relazione della Nunziatura di Lisbona.* Velletri, 1836, p. 40.

Cardinal Achinto, Secretary of State, it may be said here that he was generally looked on as an ally by the enemies of the Society, so much so that his sudden death was spoken of with mysterious hints as if it had been brought about by the Jesuits. On the other hand, Father Cordara, who was a witness of much that went on in Rome at this time, speaks of him as a friend, and we shall see later a letter which he wrote to the Nuncio Acciajuoli, strongly condemning the conduct of the Visitor and the Patriarch with regard to the Society.

Besides this, there was at this time in Rome an active party working vigorously in connection with the Jansenists of France for the destruction of the Society. It is well known that, from the time of the first Congregation held on the question of the Five Propositions, which had been extracted for condemnation from the work of Jansenius, this party had had its agents even about the Papal Court, secretly but strenuously labouring to avert the condemnation of the sect. The first principle of these men was to hide their colours, but they were seen under the surface in their affectation of a superior purity of doctrine in morals, in their appeals to the severity of the ancient Church, in exaggeration of the authority of Bishops, in order to depreciate that of the Pontiff, and more openly in their opinions on grace, in their condemnation of the Bull *Unigenitus*, their admiration for the author of the sect, and finally in their detestation of the Jesuits. These characteristics were now to be found in many persons at Rome. The events then taking place in France had renewed the activity of the party, and they were supported by a false idea that Benedict XIV. in some degree favoured them. Though of different nations, and bound together by no tie except that of their sect, the first move of the Court of Portugal against the Society made them all Portuguese in interest, till Almada became the most courted of all Ministers, and his palace the most frequented in Rome. And if another proof of the unity of the party is wanted, every step taken against the Society in Rome was immediately published with exultation by the Jansenistica organ, the *Ecclesiastical Gazette* of Paris.

Many have thought that Benedict XIV. was not favourable to the Society, but his love for it was shown in many efficacious ways. He vindicated its character by condemning the *Memoria Istorica* of Norbert, and expelling the calumniator from Rome; and Concina, who had gathered together a collection of falsified texts to exhibit the relaxed morality of the Society, was compelled to make a public retractation. His confidence in the Fathers is shown by the important duties in which he employed them, and by the fact that of all the Generals of religious orders, the General of the Society alone had the free entry to the palace every week.

In his Bull *Devotam*, issued in 1746, he says that 'the Society ever renders to the Church the greatest services, and for more than two centuries has been governed with as much success as prudence, following the wise laws and constitutions drawn up by its holy founder.' In another, *Prædaris*, published in 1748, he says that 'these religious are everywhere regarded as the good odour of Jesus Christ, and are so in effect.' And in the same year, in the Bull *Constantem*, he says that, 'Faithful in walking in the glorious footsteps of their holy founder Ignatius, the religious of the Society of Jesus give to the world an example of religious virtue, at the same time that they instruct it by their lessons in every science, and especially in the sacred science of religion.'

But this great and learned Pontiff was tottering to the grave. Born in 1675, he had now reached his eighty-fourth year. Having adorned the world both by his learning and virtue in a manner which has claimed the admiration, not of the faithful only but even of heretics, this great mind was approaching its rest. The lamp of life was flickering before it was finally extinguished. The Pontiff was in his last illness. With such a man as Passionei at the side of the Pope, ready to urge any request that seemed to be to the disadvantage of the Society, in possession himself of the influence of a Court so powerful in the East and the West, as Portugal then was, it is no wonder if Carvalho judged the moment opportune for striking a decisive blow. And it cannot be a matter of great

surprise if the Pontiff in this extreme moment made a concession earnestly demanded of him in the name of piety and religion. It was under these circumstances that Carvalho determined to ask the dying Pope for a reform of the Society in Portugal.

Before going further it will be interesting to place before the reader the observations of Cardinal Pacca on measures of this character. Writing in the year 1835, with the religious plots of three centuries before him, after having described the 'perfidious arts' with which the enemies of religious bodies proceed to their destruction—first by separating religious houses from their union with Superiors in Rome, under pretence that the latter are unable to direct them on account of their ignorance of the circumstances of the respective countries—then by exciting dissension in the houses themselves, by encouraging difficult subjects to appeal to tribunals against their Superiors, and so arranging that the decision shall always be in opposition to the good order of the monastery, until they have gained their object of destroying the credit and esteem in which the cloister had been held—he continues—

Then they change their language, and under the mark of a pretended zeal, call to mind the happy times when religious orders did so much good to religion, to the Church and the State, when the exact observance of their rule was maintained, and maliciously propose a so-called visitation for the examination of abuses, and the reform of the monasteries and convents, in order to restore the ancient regular observance which was such a source of edification. Princes give ear to these specious words, but their counsellors, initiated in the secret, take care that visitors are selected who are known for their ill-will towards the religious orders, and destined *ad destructionem*, not *ad ædificationem*.

Having then referred to the conduct of Henry VIII. in the visitation of monasteries instituted by him, he says—

This example has been followed even in countries ruled by Catholic sovereigns, who listened in good faith to the hypocritical proposals for a pretended reform of the abuses in monasteries and convents, and for the restoration of the ancient discipline and

observance; and these visitations always ended with the total or partial destruction or suppression of the religious houses subjected to them.[3]

I shall leave the reader to judge for himself how accurately these remarks describe what actually took place in Portugal and France. He will see later how strenuously the enemies of the Society in the latter country strove to separate the French Jesuits from the General in Rome, in the full belief that, once the Society became a mere national body, they could render it useless and dissolve it at pleasure. In Portugal Carvalho was too impatient for such a slow process. He tried indeed to turn certain subjects of difficult character against their Superiors, but was at once checked, and found these men, in spite of their faults, thoroughly loyal to their Order. Having failed in this, he betook himself to calumny, so as to represent the Society as already corrupted, in order, under pretence of reform, to bring about its destruction. We have here the hypocritical malice in the design, the selection of the agent, and the final ruin, exactly as described by the Cardinal.

On Oct. 8, 1757, the Minister sent to Rome his celebrated impeachment of the Society, in the form of an instruction addressed, in the name of the King, by the Foreign Minister to his plenipotentiary, Francisco de Almada, who was ordered to urge upon the Holy Father the extreme necessity of the strongest measures regarding the Society. The instruction does not ask for a Visitor, but, by referring to the Templars, whom it says the Jesuits far surpass in guilt, plainly suggests their total suppression, in the hope, no doubt, of obtaining the concession of measures less violent but sufficiently to his purpose. The document is too long to introduce into these pages in full, but it is too important, as illustrating the insolent falsehood of the man, and the means used to ruin the Society, for me to omit a rather lengthy notice of it. I shall give the most important passages in the Minister's own words, for though signed by Da Cunha, the style leaves no doubt that Carvalho was its author. It begins with the following words—

[3] *Notizie sul Portogallo*, pp. 49, 50.

Your Excellency has long been aware of the seditious machinations of the Jesuits, not only in this Court and in that of Rome, but in those of all the States of Europe, against the service of the King our Master, and the public interests of this kingdom and the countries it has conquered. Their malice has led them to invent, insinuate, and publish stories of pretended abuses and disorders which have in fact no existence. It has been their malicious design to impose on the credulity of the public, by publishing everywhere what they believe would have most effect in destroying the credit of the most religious and well ordered and happy government of his Majesty. It has been their wish to hide from the memory of his Majesty's subjects the unspeakable advantages which, to the eternal glory of his Majesty, they and the dependent States have derived from this government, upon which they never cease to call down innumerable blessings, joined to unceasing prayers for the preservation and prosperity of their august benefactor.

Up to this time, it must be noticed, no fault of any kind had ever been laid to the charge of the Fathers of Portugal, and their conduct on the missions had been, as we have seen, not only abundantly justified, but honoured with the praises of both lay and ecclesiastical superiors, whereas the whole country was groaning under the despotic hand of the Minister, who had usurped the entire authority of the weak King. The *Instruction* then proceeds as follows—

You cannot know the true causes of these abominable excesses, as the incomparable clemency of his Majesty, and his extreme devotion to the glorious St. Ignatius of Loyola, to St. Francis Xavier, and St. Francis Borgia, have not only restrained his unfailing justice, but even suspended the exercise of his duty for the protection of his spoiled and oppressed subjects. His Majesty had hoped that such great moderation might inspire some repentance for such extraordinary disorders, without dishonouring the sons of so venerable a mother as the Society of Jesus. He then says that the 'detestable excesses and incorrigible obstinacy' exhibited in the History of the Republic of Paraguay which he incloses, take away all hope of amendment, and compel him to resort to the 'only remaining remedy for such extreme disorder.'

The Ambassador is then told that the 'more horrible scandals, such as could not be related without extreme indecency, such as no one could write or read without blushing,' had been omitted. The defamer knew perfectly well that the reputation of the Society on the head here referred to was unspotted, that its worst enemies acknowledged this, so much so that one of their greatest revilers, Gaspar Schopp, accuses them of pretending to a special gift of immunity from danger in its regard,[4] and the Jansenist Bishop Fitzjames, though calling for the entire suppression of the Society in his *Votum* of December, 1761, bore testimony that 'in morals they are pure, and perhaps most so of all the Orders of the Church.'[5] He then continues—

He has confined himself to public and notorious facts, which can neither be veiled nor concealed, the evidence of which is before the eyes of the whole world, and which are by their own nature incontrovertible. Even so his Majesty feels the greatest pain in publishing such great disorders, which are nothing less than the entire corruption of the provinces of the Society in Portugal and Brazil. He will see from this *Relation* that for some years the Jesuits have thrown off all obedience to the rules of Sovereign Pontiffs, . . . and sacrificed all Christian, religious, natural, and political occupations to a blind, ambitious, and unbridled cupidity of making themselves masters of temporal and political governments, and to an insatiable desire of acquiring and amassing the goods of others, and usurping the authority of sovereigns. . . . To such a deplorable extent has the extreme corruption of these degenerate sons of a holy Institute reached in the kingdom of Portugal, and still more in the dominions beyond the seas, that there are now few Jesuits to be found who do not appear to be merchants, soldiers, and tyrants rather than religious. . . . It was impossible any longer to dissimulate these grave disorders without running the risk of rendering them totally irremediable. His Majesty has then determined to take efficacious remedies to prevent the entire desolation of his whole States and the total ruin of these Provinces of the Society.

[4] Alphonsi de Vargas *Relatio ad Reges*, chap. xiv.
[5] *Inquietudini dei Gesuiti*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 13.

I must here make another remark. There was at this moment a labourer in the vineyard at Olinda in Brazil, a Father Emmanuel Correa, whose influence, when yet a simple scholastic, teaching grammar in the town of Santos, was such that, when his Superiors proposed to send him to the College of St. Sebastian to complete his own studies,[6] the Governor of the town waited on the Superior, and told him that, if that intention were carried out, he had great reason to fear a sedition in the town, so much had his zeal and charity endeared him to all. The future of this young man was what so happy a beginning might have led us to expect. When, later, he was employed on the mission of Olinda, so great was his reputation for holiness, learning, and zeal, that when it happened that the Bishop was obliged to take a journey to Portugal, and appointed his Vicar-General, Don Antony Pereira, to administer the diocese in his absence, this good priest accepted the charge, but on one sole condition—that the Superiors of the Society should promise not to remove Emmanuel Correa from the town till the return of the Bishop. Was Father Correa, it may be asked, a soldier or a merchant? The inhabitants of Santos and Olinda would have said he was both, but in the language of Jesus Christ, and not of Sebastian Joseph Carvalho. His enemies were the sins of men, and his merchandise souls for which Jesus Christ had paid His Blood. The history of the persecution of the Society will show that there were many men like Father Correa.

Carvalho then states that, as the confessors of the Palace were the chief support of the arrogance and audacity of the Fathers both in Europe and America, his Majesty had substituted other priests in their place. He had forbidden any of the Fathers to enter the Palace, and had taken all means possible to secure the observance of the sacred Constitutions and the Rules of the Society. But, as the royal authority does not extend beyond temporal matters, the Ambassador is to implore His Holiness to apply the most efficacious remedies to put a stop to 'such excessive abuses and crimes as are daily

[6] *Vita Venerabilis Patris Emmanuelis Correæ.* Fano. S. Martini, 1789.

committed' by these religious, so as to revive that primitive observance which 'for a long series of years has been buried under the horrors of such enormous, universal, and public scandals.' He then describes the efforts that had been made by the publication of the Bull *Immensa Pastorum*, which, as has been noticed, had been given at the request of the Society to restrain the cruelties of the Portuguese, and attributes the failure hitherto of all means of reducing the Society to order, to the artifices of the Society, which contrived to ruin every Governor or officer who exposed their crimes: the fact being, as we have seen, that to make a representation against an agent of Carvalho was ruin and exile, or a dungeon, for whoever had the temerity to make it. The Ambassador is then told to ask for a special and secret audience, and to urge the Holy Father to employ the most efficacious means in such urgent circumstance, 'to prevent the total ruin of an Order which has rendered great services to the Church . . . through the corruption of its morals and the public scandal which it has given by those strange and continual disorders and abuses.' Carvalho reminds him that the *Brief Relation* being founded on information taken on the spot, admits of no doubt whatever, and expresses his confidence that the Pontiff will restrain the cupidity of the Fathers, will withdraw them from their desire to govern Courts and acquire riches, from the practice of commerce and usury, 'to the imitation of the heroic virtues of their great and glorious St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier, and St. Francis Borgia, who like resplendent luminaries shed the light of their illustrious example, not only on their Order, but on the whole Catholic Church.' He then tells him to call attention to the chastisement inflicted on the Templars, 'although they had never reached the enormous crimes of which the Jesuits are guilty.'

The document then continues—

Those cavaliers were never accused, like the Fathers of the Society, of open resistance to Popes and Kings, of forming republics within the States of their Princes, of raising peoples

against their Sovereign; they never opposed the interests of Kings with armed forces, they were never accused of aiming at the usurpation of kingdoms and empires, but the Jesuits are guilty of all these crimes. . . . With all the means in their power, they had in a certain manner already closed the two Americas to all Portuguese and Spaniards, with a cordon so strong that in ten years it would have been impossible to burst it, or to drive them from the country, there being no power in Europe capable of conquering them in these vast forests, defended by innumerable warriors, whose language and customs are known only to the Jesuits, who never cease to incite in them an implacable and irreconcileable hatred of all white men who do not belong to their Order.

May God our Lord preserve you in His holy keeping.

DA CUNHA.

I have already placed before the reader abundant means to enable him to form his judgment on this letter. It is chiefly based on the pamphlet of which I have given an account, which was burned as a calumnious libel by the authorities in Spain, and was in open contradiction to notorious facts. But it would have been impossible to ask for a testimony more exactly to the point than the following letter, written only seven years before by Peter Michael Argandona, Bishop of Cordova in Tucuman, on the very scene of these supposed excesses, to Benedict XIV., and dated December 4, 1750, at the very period when the troubles caused by Carvalho in these countries were about to commence. I have already had occasion to bring forward the testimonies of several of his predecessors, and this letter completes the chain of witnesses as to the conduct of the missionaries of the Society in those parts.

After having detailed with expressions of exultation and joy the conquests that were being made for religion in his diocese, he says—

Nor can I refrain from commending most earnestly to your Holiness those by whose labour principally our great and good God vouchsafes to work such wonders even in these remote regions. I mean the Jesuits of the Province of Paraguay, as well those

of my diocese of Tucuman, as of the adjacent dioceses of Paraguay and Buenos Ayres on the river Plata, whose indefatigable labours for the glory of God and the salvation of souls are truly wonderful.

No place is so inaccessible that they are not ready to hasten there with joy, to bear away the spoils of souls from the powers of hell. Over the summits of mountains, into the depths of caverns, and the recesses of forests, over the marshes of the interior, over boundless plains of sand, through trackless and desert lands, by day and by night do these intrepid and indefatigable men penetrate with unflagging vigour, till no human being can hide himself from the ardour, the diligence, the solicitude of their zeal; and such are the distances to be traversed that many would be deprived of the sacraments in life, and die unabsolved, if help were not carried to them by the zeal of these men whom no distance can deter from being ever present, wherever the necessities of the faithful and their spiritual welfare demand assistance. These Jesuits seem made to draw pagans into the fold of Christ. So powerfully do they insinuate themselves into their affections, so little do they fear their ferocity and savage barbarism, that they would hold their own lives cheap if it were given them to fall victims of faith and charity in their efforts to increase the flock of Christ. Hence it is that though exposed to the greatest dangers, they shrink from no labour whatever to gain the souls of pagans to Christ, and to secure them to eternal felicity. And as no one can do greater charity than this, I pass over smaller things, such for example as the work which these zealous and active labourers in the vineyard of the Lord accomplish in the cities of the Spaniards, or in labour amongst Christians. For they are the only ones who seriously and constantly devote themselves to the education of youth, to training them up in liberal and sacred learning, and to forming them to piety, and a holy fear of God, in Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary: who raise their voice to deter sinners from their wicked ways, threatening them from the sacred pulpits with eternal torments, or holding up to them the eternal rewards; who allure the just to the love of virtue and to perfection by the soundness of their doctrine; who draw from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius wonderful fruit for the healing of souls, and the leading them on in the way of the Spirit; who are ever at hand to console the sick and assist the dying, and by whom vast numbers of the faithful are purified in confession, and replenished with the Holy Communion in their beautiful churches, the splen-

dour of which is being daily increased by their industry. These men are certainly worthy to share the greatest favours I can bestow, and to receive a constant increase of benefits from your Holiness, and to be embraced by you with ever greater affection, that they may be saved from those calumnies and persecutions (which attend those who live piously in Christ Jesus, and strenuously hold the cause of God against the efforts of the devil), and rendered secure in the esteem and protection of the Apostolic See : for, supported by this protection, these intrepid men, who fear no attacks of the enemy, will daily produce still greater fruits for the glory of God, and the exaltation of our holy mother the Church, which you so happily govern, in these remote regions which stand in extreme need of such workmen. Oh, would that their numbers were increased and multiplied to the greatest possible degree ![7]

My readers must pardon the length of this extract. If it had been written to meet the charges of Carvalho, it could not have been more apposite.

For some reason or other the *Instruction* of the Minister was not despatched till the 10th of February of the following year, 1758. At this date it was sent together with the *Brief Relation,* and a second letter of instruction. This document is a repetition of the calumnies contained in the former letter, with the addition of others. It is divided into sixteen heads ; I shall confine myself to a very brief summary of the chief points.

(1) The disorder produced by the Jesuits in Maranhão from the beginning of the reign of his Majesty, with the design of rendering the execution of the Treaty of Limits impossible, the insurrection they raised in Uruguay, and the plots laid by them even in the palace of the King, are the motives which induce the King to use the rights which belong to every Sovereign with respect to rebellious and seditious ecclesiastics, even though far less pernicious or worthy of condemnation than the Jesuits. His Majesty has the more reason to do so on account of the moderation he has shown, hoping that gentle measures would suffice to bend their scandalous obstinacy. (2) As soon as they saw that this

[7] De Ravignan, vol. ii. p 68.

treaty would deprive them of the empire they had acquired, and saw Gomez Freire d'Andrada at the head of an army, and Francisco de Mendoza advancing with three regiments, these Fathers 'lost all sense and sentiment of religion, and abandoned themselves to the most detestable practices in order to calumniate and discredit the unfortunate Governor by inventions full of infamy; and, as they have done before in so many other lands, committing excesses which fill every one with horror and consternation.' (3) They tried to gain over all who were discontented with the Government, spreading the most unheard of impostures, falsehoods, and atrocious calumnies against his Majesty, 'notwithstanding the admirable prudence and justice of the incomparable and happiest of governments of a king truly the father of his people.' (4) They have tried to destroy the harmony of the two Courts, saying in Lisbon that the Crown of Portugal was deceived in the treaty, and spreading the same of the Spaniards in Madrid. (5) Foreseeing the ruin to their own commerce by the company of Maranhão, they tried even in this capital to create a sedition to overthrow it, Father Ballister going so far as to say in the pulpit *that whoever entered that company would have no part in that of Jesus Christ.* His Majesty was compelled to exile Father Fonseca for uttering similar declamations in the houses of his Ministers,[8] and certain merchants of the *Ben Comune*, who, excited by these religious, had presented a seditious petition against the same company. (6) The Fathers are accused of having taken advantage of the earthquake 'to attain their detestable ends.' 'Never did the malice of Nicholas Macchiavelli equal the diabolical plots which these Fathers then put into execution. They invented prophecies full of threats of new disasters, to be occasioned by subterranean fires and inroads of the sea; published in all the papers of Europe accounts of extreme misery, of dreadful horrors which never existed at all; carried their incredible and unexampled audacity to such a point as to place seditious writings full of these impostures under the very eyes of his Majesty—trying to break down and render contemptible that great soul to which for our happiness God has given a tranquillity above all proof, and superior to all their malicious endeavours.'

The seditious writing here referred to was a defence of the intervention of Divine Providence in natural things, written by

[8] See above, p. 87. We have already seen what was the truth on these two points.

Malagrida. All this, it must be remarked, was the creation of Carvalho's fertile imagination; the Fathers were really noted for their endeavours to calm the fears of the people and lead them to repentance for their sins, in hopes of appeasing the Divine Justice, nor had any one ever heard of the calumnies against the King or his officers which are here spoken of as so notorious.

(7) The sedition of Oporto is attributed to the Society: 'In the trial the government of the Jesuits would have made an enormous figure, if his Majesty had not in his spirit of religion withdrawn all that regarded ecclesiastics.'

We have already adverted to the manifest innocence of the Society in this affair, nor will any one believe that one who could heap on religious men such accusations as we have seen, would have withheld proofs of their guilt had there been such.

In the sentence regarding this sedition, and the instruction which has been given above, will be seen, it is said, 'full proofs of the impostures of these Fathers,' so that they will no longer be able to deceive Portugal, and even foreign nations, by spreading their pernicious calumnies in order to clear themselves from the rebellion they have raised in Paraguay and Maranhão.

The reader has seen plenty of assertions, and he will see many more, but the proofs are all on the other side. He continues—

They have had the audacity to deny what was notorious in the sight of three armies and the whole of Brazil, a temerity which would be equalled only by that of denying the existence of such cities as Lisbon, Madrid, or London!

He then adds what may help to show the value of all he has already said—

It was with such artifices and falsehoods they formerly prevented the Court from believing their oppression of D. Philip Pardo in Manilla, D. Bernadino de Cardenas in Paraguay, and D. John de Palafox de Mendoza, Bishop of Puebla de los Angelos.

The reader already knows what sort of a man was D. Bernadino de Cardenas. A more furious persecutor of the Society, indeed of all who opposed him, has rarely existed. To judge of the dispute with Don John Palafox, it will be enough to read the concluding words of the *Votum* of Cardinal Calino, delivered in the presence of Pope Pius VI. on January 20, 1777, with reference to the beatification of that prelate which was ardently pressed on the Holy See by the Government of Spain in order to vindicate its persecution of the Society.

> Look then [he says], most Holy Father, at the cause of the Society as it appears when weighed by the balance of a rigid justice and measured by the rules of strict law. See the reproaches and crimes which Palafox brought against this Society, and you will see clearer than the day, not merely the dignity, justice, and innocence of the Society, of which there is no question now, but the unbridled malice of Palafox in destroying the reputation of his neighbour, his licence in falsehood, his freedom in abuse, and his obstinacy in his iniquity, without repentance for his deeds or his writings, and then consider (for this is the object of our meeting) whether such a man is worthy of the sanctuary. It is for you, most Holy Father, as Vicar of Christ on earth, to judge.

Of Don Philip Pardo I have no details. He opposed the Society in the Philippines. The association of his name with the other two will warn the reader to draw no conclusion adverse to the Society. It required an audacity such as belonged to Carvalho alone to appeal to the name of Cardenas in an instruction for his Minister with the Holy See; but the reader is already accustomed to his style. There was no measure in his accusation, and when the punishment was in his own hands, his wrath was certain and crushing. When it was necessary to blacken a reputation, he knew well enough that some part would be believed if he were bold enough in his charges—and in this he never was wanting. But, if we except his dealings with the King, he often miscalculated his strength and brought derision on himself.

Whilst Carvalho was awaiting the result of his application

to the Holy See, taking it for granted that the Society would resist the expected reform, he built new prisons in the fortress of Junqueira, near Lisbon, which have been described as more like sepulchres for the dead than abodes of living men. These prisons were in fact destined to be the dreadful tombs of many Jesuits, and it was a common remark that, as the Minister used often to say that so far from being opposed to the Jesuits, it was his intention to build them a college, he had fulfilled his promise with a grim reality, for in those dungeons these poor Fathers gave lessons of patience and fortitude and love of their Divine Master and their state, to which the whole world has since listened with admiration, and from which their children in the Society have learned to emulate the holiness of those 'of whom Portugal was not worthy.'

At the same time he caused the report to be spread abroad with a tone of mystery, that the Jesuits were to be reformed, and, if they refused to accept the expected decree, to be driven from their colleges and even from the kingdom. People looked at one another with amazement when they heard of the reform of an Order which till then had enjoyed the general esteem for virtue and regularity. The libels of Carvalho had produced little effect in diminishing their credit, though, as has been said, the Nuncio Acciajuoli had fallen into the snare and given credit to the stories circulated with regard to Paraguay and Maranhão. It is also believed that a letter which he wrote to the Holy See at this time, helped to obtain the concession so desired by the Minister. The character of the Nuncio and his subsequent conduct make it impossible to doubt his good faith, but the artful Minister endeavoured to hold him in his meshes by conferring on his relations the richest benefices he had to bestow. Whether from curiosity, or impatience for the execution of the project, he often asked the Provincial if he had heard anything from Rome, without however exciting his suspicion as to the fatal train which had been laid against the Society. It was not long before he opened his eyes to the net in which he had let himself be entangled.

The man fixed on by Carvalho for the execution of his

project was Cardinal Francis Saldanha, a man of whom it is enough to say, in his own words, recorded in the Life of Carvalho, that[9] 'the will of the King was the rule of his actions, that he acknowledged himself to be under such obligations to his Majesty for favours conferred on him, that he would not hesitate to throw himself from a balcony, if he knew that to be his pleasure.' Without making too much account of a declaration of *blind obedience* such as the Society of Jesus never taught, we shall see how perfectly his conduct corresponded to these professions. It was currently reported that the first person fixed on by Carvalho was the Rev. D. Francis of the Annunciation, Regular Canon of St. Augustine, at that time reformer of the University of Coimbra, and that on his declining the office, the Minister in a rage removed him from his employment, and finally condemned him with others of his Order to prison, where he ended his days. Of his end in a dungeon there appears to be no doubt, nor does any other cause for his imprisonment appear.

When the messenger carrying Carvalho's despatches reached Rome, the Holy Father was too ill to read them. Few can understand how severe must have been the conflict to which the aged Pope was exposed when their substance was laid before him. It was impossible for him to believe that an Order which according to all testimony had till now been justly renowned for its virtues and its services to the Church, should on a sudden have fallen into a depth of iniquity, such as that described by Carvalho, and no less so, that being long inwardly corrupt it could have continued till now to receive the esteem and confidence of all good men. On the other hand, Passionei was at his side to support the request of the King, the Nuncio confirmed the petition, and, there is no doubt, the Portuguese Minister in Rome urged the danger of a rupture with the Holy See in case the Holy Father should overlook so pressing a demand. Moved by all these reasons, and especially by a fear of still greater evils, if the Crown of Portugal should attempt to take the matter into its own hands, and fearing in his last

[9] Vol. i. p. 155.

act to occasion a rupture with so Catholic a State as Portugal, the dying Pontiff consented to appoint a Visitor to examine the accusations and regulate what needed reform.

The Brief, which is addressed to Cardinal Saldanha, is dated, April 1, 1758, and is signed by Cardinal Passionei. I shall give the most important passages of it which will help the reader to contrast the spirit in which it was sent, with the servile submission to the Minister with which it was executed. After speaking of the duty of the Supreme Pontiff to watch over the holiness of the ecclesiastical and religious state, he says—

> As it has been laid before us on the part of our most dear son, Joseph King of Portugal, that inconveniences of no slight consequence and abuses have arisen in the Provinces of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, and in the East and West Indies, . . . concerning which it is believed that almost all nations and countries have been informed by means of a little printed volume which has been sent to us, and distributed among our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. . . . We who embrace this Society with paternal affection, consider that it is only becoming in us to imitate the laudable example and practice of our predecessors, and depute and name one of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church who, having in the first place obtained the fullest information, and having carefully weighed all and each of the points in question, shall lay open and refer them to us, that we may, after mature consideration, determine as shall be most opportune and salutary, what measures are to be taken.[10]

He then declares the confidence he has in the prudence of the Cardinal, his singular faith, his integrity, his tact, his vigilance, and zeal for religion, and appoints him Visitor and Reformer of the Society in the Province named, with power to correct and reform according as necessity shall require, 'to restore the Society to the observance of the Apostolical

[10] 'Qui primum de omnibus et singulis hujusmodi negotiis accurate expensis plenissime instructus, eadem ad nos deinde referat aperiatque, ut postea matura consideratione adhibita quidquid statuendum sit, opportune et saluberrime decernamus.

constitutions if *by chance they have fallen away*,[11] . . . and if he finds *any failing in any duty in anything*,[12] to punish and chastise and restore them to their duty . . . and, whatever he orders or ordains, to see that it is observed without delay or appeal which can in any manner prevent the execution.'

But if [he adds] in this Visitation you should meet with any grave matters, you must take care at once to transmit all such things to us, under the cover of your own seal, and to lay open to us whatever you consider appertains to the question ; that we, taking counsel according to the times and circumstances, pouring out our tears and prayers with a loud cry and earnest entreaties before the Omnipotent God, may determine with mature deliberation what steps are to be taken.[13]

No one can fail to see the spirit of zeal for God's sanctuary, and at the same time of careful circumspection and reliance on God alone, which animated the holy Pontiff in this, almost the last, and we may believe, the most painful act of his long life. This Brief is the last of the long series issued by this Pontiff. It is found in the Appendix to the last volume of his *Bullarium*, and is followed only by one decree, which, by a coincidence which it is impossible not to notice, is the declaration of the heroic virtues of a Father of the same Society, St. Francis Jerome—signed, as the Pontiff tells us, after having received the Holy Viaticum, on May 2, and therefore but a few hours before he gave up his soul to God—a dying testimony of the virtue that still existed in the Society.

If there is one thing evident from the two passages I have quoted, it is that the Holy Father was very unwilling to believe in the accusations brought against the Fathers, that he asked for the most careful inquiry into their truth, and

[11] 'Si fortasse exciderint.'

[12] 'Si aliquos in aliquo delinquentes repereris.'

[13] 'Si quæ autem graviora in hujusmodi Visitatione repereris, ea omnia sub tuo sigillo clausa, ad nos quam primum diligenter transmittas, ac nobis referas et patefacias, quæcumque ad hanc causam pertinere arbitraveris : ex re enim et tempore consilium capiemus, et effusis lachrymis Omnipotentem Deum clamore valido orabimus, atque obsecrabimus, ut quod inde statuendum est decernamus' (S.D.N. Bened. XIV. *Bullarium*, vol. iv. p. 289. Venet. 1768).

reserved to himself all action in matters of importance, and even required a full and accurate report on every point before any measures were taken against the Society. We shall see in what manner this was observed. But the consideration for the Society evinced in the Brief is far more visible in the letter to the Visitor which he himself dictated immediately after having signed the document presented to him by Cardinal Passionei. This letter is so full of prudence and consideration for the Society, that had its instructions been attended to, the evils to the Society and scandal to the world which followed would have been guarded against, and still all necessary powers would have remained to the Cardinal to remedy any abuses which might have existed. In order not to extend this portion of my history I shall give only a summary of it, using where it seems desirable the Pope's own words—

'*The repeated instances*,' he says, 'made by the Court of Portugal, which are certainly unfavourable to the Jesuits, are the motives which have *compelled* me, after mature examination of this proposal, to grant you the necessary faculties, as you will read in the annexed Brief, to remedy *as far as may be required* all the abuses and disorders which in any manner can affect ecclesiastical discipline, and have been introduced *as is supposed* into the observance of this holy Institute, which has given so many illustrious men to the Church, whose truth they have not hesitated to confirm with their own blood.' He then reminds him how much the Church loves charity and peace, and exhorts him 'to follow the path of gentleness and mildness, especially when treating with an Order *which has always been of the greatest edification to the whole world*, because by proceeding otherwise he would diminish that high opinion which up to this time they have *justly acquired* as the reward of their diligence.' He then tells him not to shut his eyes even to small abuses, which might produce grave evils in a regular institute, and tells him whenever he visits personally the houses of the Society, to 'examine in the first place, and make sure *whether the abuses and crimes that are imputed to the*

religious of the Society are true or not, . . . for even though we give credit to the stories, prudence requires that we should doubt,' and that the Cardinal should seek to act with justice, after full information, 'for this end he must not make difficulty in acquainting us distinctly with everything, that we may concur in the application of the remedies, and proceed according to the rules established by the sacred canons.' With respect to the commerce which, *as is said*, is carried on by the religious of the Society, 'the Cardinal is to apply the greatest earnestness and diligence possible to discover what are the supposed objects of traffic, and to what extent it is carried, and whether it is becoming or not, as also whether through it ecclesiastical discipline is interfered with.' He then tells him to chastise delinquents according to the canons and according to Christian prudence and charity, and exhorts him to listen to no one who can give evil advice or such as is dictated by passion, and prays 'that everything be done secretly, so as not to give occasion to the wicked to draw still greater scandal.' He is to take great care whom he delegates, 'that they be persons of good repute, impartial, and disinterested, not affected by human respect, and, above all, furnished with Christian charity, so necessary in such a case.' His delegates are to inform him of everything they have discovered, *that he may be able to inform us of all.* He finishes by exhorting him 'not to depart a tittle from the instructions which We send with the Brief, . . . which will suffice to remedy all abuses and disorders which may *perhaps* have been introduced into the houses or colleges of the Society of Jesus.'

It will be seen directly how great was the contrast between these instructions, so full of consideration and delicacy, and showing such unwillingness to accept as true the accusations against the Society, and the conduct of the protege of Carvalho to whom they were directed. The Brief reached Lisbon at the end of April, and on May 3 the Pontiff breathed his last in the arms of Father Pépé, a Jesuit of the Province of Naples. Had he lived but a little longer his heart would have been torn

by the sight of the abuse of authority exercised in his name, and by the neglect of all the precautions wisely insisted on in his last orders, the observance of which would have averted so much scandal and grievous injustice.

Carvalho was overjoyed at the gaining of his object. The newly-appointed reformer of the Society concerted with him his plans for the execution of the Brief, and thus placed the Fathers in Portugal and the vast regions under its dominion in the hands of their implacable foe. No time was allowed for measures to soften the blow struck against the Society. On May 2, a royal officer, accompanied by a notary, presented himself at the Professed House of St. Rock's in Lisbon, which was the principal house of the Society in Portugal, and having ordered the community to be summoned by the bell, read to them in the first place a letter of the Cardinal to Carvalho announcing his appointment as Visitor, in the second place the answer of the Minister expressing the satisfaction of the King, and thirdly, a document by which the Visitor appointed Don Stephen Louis Magalhaens, an officer of the Court and a slave of the will of the Minister, Secretary and Associate of the Visitation. It was observed that the documents were not originals, and bore no authentication. The Superior having endorsed the papers in attestation of their having been communicated to the Fathers, the officers withdrew, astonished at the modesty and silence observed by the whole community throughout what must have been to them a scene of the most woeful consternation, the more overwhelming because the more unexpected. So little did the Minister know the temper of the Jesuits, that a body of troops was stationed outside the doors ready to force their way into the house at the first signal of tumult.

On the following day the Provincial, who had not been in the house when the documents just mentioned were read, accompanied by all the other Superiors in Lisbon, visited the Cardinal and offered him their humble respects, accepting him in the place of the Supreme Pontiff, and expressing their entire submission to the orders of His Holiness.

Saldanha received them with kindness, told them that he held it to be a duty to fulfil the last instructions of his father, who on his death-bed had strongly recommended him and his brothers to love and venerate the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, as well out of gratitude as for their own interest, for he knew by experience that if he had the happiness of having acquitted himself with honour in his employment in Goa, he owed it to the wise counsels of these religious; and in dismissing them, he said to the Provincial that he had rather need of being reformed by them than the Society by him. Was this hypocrisy, or was it only weakness that made this Prince of the Church the servile instrument of persecution? His words did not reassure the Fathers. They knew too well the power which the despot might wield over a man, in his origin poor, and on whose relations he had during the last two years conferred the richest benefices in the kingdom, for whom he had obtained the dignity of Cardinal, one of whose brothers he had made Provincial of the Patriarchal Church, and whose eldest brother had received at his hands the title of Count with the appointments of Ambassador in France and Spain. If to this list of favours we add the dignity of Patriarch of Lisbon with which he was soon to be rewarded, and observe the part he acted, we shall see too much reason to fear that this part was already chosen, or rather that he had no part to choose, but was a slave bound hand and foot, free only to execute the injustice of the master he served. Had he refused there can be no doubt he would have been deposed from his office and have expiated his disobedience in prison or in exile.

What makes the submission of the Society the more worthy of notice is the fact that many believed the Brief of reform to be in part at least surreptitious. It is well known that Carvalho did on other occasions distribute documents which were falsely asserted to have come from Rome. Contrary to custom, this Brief was not registered in the Cancelleria of Rome. It was translated under the eye of Carvalho, and printed in Latin and Portuguese, as is said, with manifest indications of alterations and infidelities.[14]

[14] *Anecdotas*, vol. i. p. 123.

The reader has not forgotten the instructions of the Pontiff regarding secrecy, and the employment of every means to spare the feelings of the Fathers. So far from this being observed, the Brief was at once published to the world, as if it had been the concern of all. Copies were sent to all Bishops, Superiors of Orders, to the grandees of the kingdom, to all officers of the Crown. They were sent to all the tribunals, and posted up in all the market-places. The people who had looked on the Fathers with reverence, who had flocked to their confessionals, whose children crowded their schools, looked at one another with amazement. They knew them only as the salt of the earth, and here they saw them suddenly subjected to a reformer who had power to examine, correct, and chastise men whose virtue had been on the lips of every one. Those who had scorned the libels of the Minister, had too deep a reverence for anything purporting to come from the Holy See, not to be shaken when the Vicar of Jesus Christ seemed to take part with the Minister in the condemnation of the Fathers.

The Pope had instructed the Cardinal *in the first place to make himself quite sure whether the abuses and crimes attributed to the Society were true or not . . . to adopt all possible care and diligence to discover what were the supposed objects of traffic. Whether they were becoming or no, and whether on this account he found ecclesiastical discipline relaxed. . . . Not to listen to any one who could give pernicious advice, or which could be the result of passion, to do all with the greatest possible secrecy,* and *not to depart in the least* from these *instructions.* Not only were these instructions dictated by the paternal heart of the great Pontiff, but the barest justice and reason itself demanded their observance, if the end proposed was the good of the Order and of religion. But, it was well known, Carvalho had a very different end. His object was to ruin, and to make use of the authority of the Holy See to do it more effectually and with colour of justice. The Cardinal did not take possession of his office till May 31, on which day he opened his visitation by going with great pomp to the Church of the professed house of St. Rock. He took his seat on a throne in the sanctuary, and

gave his hand to kiss to all the religious. The people who crowded the church, looked on with grief and wonder at what, though they could not comprehend it, they well knew boded no good to the religious whom they loved and venerated. As the Provincial kissed his hand, the Cardinal squeezed his in his own, and told him to have courage, as he would act with clemency. This ceremony finished, he departed abruptly, without asking any questions or examining anything. A few days after, the Provincial received from the secretary of the Visitor a printed document with the command to have it read to all his subjects, to register it, and return it immediately. The document bore the signature of the Visitor, and was dated May 15. Up to this time the Cardinal had not visited a single house or church, except on the one occasion just mentioned. He had examined nothing either by himself or by delegates. He had not questioned a single member of the Society, and yet to the astonishment of every one, in a document bearing date May 15, that is sixteen days before taking possession of his office, and only thirteen after its first promulgation, the Fathers of the Society in Portugal and its dominions at the ends of the earth, are declared on the fullest information guilty of every crime of worldly traffic that could disgrace the ecclesiastical state, and commanded, under pain of excommunication, to cease from all such commerce at the very hour in which this pastoral is communicated to them.

No one who reflected on the impossibility of attaining such evidence in so brief a period, and this without the use of the only means that could have authorized a decision, a careful examination of witnesses according to the instruction of the Holy Father, could doubt who was the real author of this document. It was evident that the signature only, with the crime of thus prostituting his authority, belonged to Saldanha. What is still more curious is that it was only after the publication of this condemnation, that the superiors and procurators were called on to give up their books of accounts. It is necessary to give the reader some idea of this judiciary decree. In style it is similar to the other documents known to have come from the pen of Carvalho.

The first two-thirds of the letter are a treatise on the unlawfulness of commerce to ecclesiastics, in which are cited various passages from canon law, the expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the Temple by our Lord, with many texts from Holy Scripture, such as, 'You cannot serve God and mammon,'[15] 'No man being a soldier to God entangleth himself with secular businesses,'[16] 'Do not possess gold nor silver nor money in your purses,'[17] &c., with long extracts from the Bull *Ex debito Pastoralis Officii* of Urban VIII., of February 22, 1633, and from the *Solicitudo Pastoralis Officii* of Clement IX., issued 17 June, 1670, and finally of the *Immensa Pastorum* of Benedict XIV. All this in itself was beyond dispute and deserving only of reverence, but it was not to the question. It is worthy of notice also that the Bulls are cited in a manner to suggest that they were intended to restrain the illicit practices in particular of the Society. The religious of the foreign missions, it is said, had already in the time of Urban VIII. given scandal in this most delicate matter, whereas these Pontiffs, by the words *Etiam Societatis Jesu*, in a special manner distinguish the Society from other Orders, as if they wished to express a reluctance to include them in a general order necessary however for the good of the Church. This expression occurs once in the passage cited from Urban VIII., and eight times in the Bull of Clement IX. No one can read these passages without concluding that these Pontiffs had at least nothing special to accuse the Society of. The letter then continues—

And as we have been informed with certainty, and not without extreme grief of heart, that in the colleges, novitiates, houses, and residences, and other places of the provinces and vice-provinces of the Society of Jesus, in these kingdoms and dominions which we have been commissioned to reform and reduce to a due observance of their rule as far as is possible to our weakness, there are nevertheless found some religious so forgetful of the aforesaid Divine dispositions and Apostolic Constitutions, so obstinately hardened in the violation of the same, that without fear of God or

[15] St. Matt. vi. 24. [16] 2 Tim. ii. 4. [17] St. Matt. x. 9.

shame before the world, to the great prejudice of their own souls and the general scandal of the faithful, like those bankers and merchants whom Christ our Lord reproved and drove with whips from the Temple, stand in religious houses in the character of men dedicated to God, and not only accept and send out letters of change, as is done in banks and houses of commerce, but sell merchandises brought over from Asia, Africa, and America for the purpose of profit, just as if their colleges, houses, novitiates, and residences and other places were magazines of business and habitations of merchants. Others are like those ecclesiastical merchants whom the sacred canons and holy Fathers command us to shun as a pestilence, who, by means of capital accumulated by commerce, from being poor become rich, having been humble become arrogant, while magazines are established in the maritime places of the kingdom and its dominions, which are rendered more favourable for commerce owing to the vicinity of the ports, with deplorable corruption selling in these magazines all kinds of manufactures —drugs, salt-meat, and fish, &c., till their houses have become shops of eatables and other goods to an extent that would be vile in seculars, even of the lower class. [He then commands,] under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*, that on the very hour of the communication of this letter, either in manuscript or print, signed by himself and subscribed by his secretary, and furnished with the great seal of his arms, the same having been read in full community assembled by the sound of the bell, and registered in the books of the respective houses, all such transgressions and scandals are immediately to cease, without attempt at palliation or pretext, under any title, cause, understanding, or on any occasion or in any manner admitting exception, even for once, or on account of any necessity. . . . Finally, the Superiors are commanded to declare to his competent delegate all their transactions of exchange, or transport of goods, whether for personal ornament, for the table, for the use of the house, or the support of life, all shares belonging to the houses in Portugal or its dominions, and to exhibit the books, papers, and manuscripts belonging to such business, in their possession, and to indicate where others not in their possession are to be found.

Such is the sentence pronounced against the Society, spread over the four quarters of the world, after a period of thirteen days, without the employment of a single measure to ascertain

whether the charges were correct. And, as if it was intended to make the poor Cardinal ridiculous to the end of time, the sentence concludes with a demand for the production of those documents which alone could have tested the truth of the accusations, and have justified his declarations. I have already explained the law forbidding traffic in ecclesiastics. According to the teaching of all doctors, 'it consists in buying an object with the intention of selling it dearer, so as to derive profit from the simple transfer from one person to another.'[18] And again, in another place, 'Whoever buys a thing in order to profit by disposing of the same thing entire and without change, he is the merchant who is to be ejected from the temple of God.'[19] The practice of selling the produce of one's lands is nowhere forbidden. It is, indeed, expressly permitted by the answers of the Sacred Congregation of the Council of Trent, as practised by those who are supported by their lands, and Benedict XIV. enumerates as what are improperly called commerce, and therefore lawful to clerics—(1) To support oneself by the labour of one's hands and an honest art, and (2) to sell what is collected from one's own land and is not necessary for one's own support, and even (3) to sell at a higher price what remains of what has been bought for the support of the family, provided a just price is not exceeded.[20] How much more, then, was it lawful for the Fathers to act as procurators for the poor Indians, in selling the produce of the lands which belonged to them! The missions of the Society, as well as those of other Orders, were supported in

[18] 'Negotiatio enim proprie sumpta est quando emitur res, ut omnino integra et immutata carius vendatur, ita ut ex sola transmutatione de persona in personam, sequatur lucrum.'

[19] 'Qui autem comparat rem, ut illam ipsam integram, et immutatam dando lucretur, ille est mercator qui de templo Dei ejicitur' (Ferraris, *Bibliotheca Canonica*, voc. 'Clericus,' art. iii.).

[20] 'Istarum præcipua est, qua quis manuum suarum labore, et honesto artificio, victum sibi comparare studet.' 'Altera impropriæ negotiationis species clericis permissæ est vendere res ex propriis prædiis collectas suæque sustentationi superfluas.' 'Licitum quoque esse ecclesiasticis e rebus ad propriam et familiæ sustentationem coemptis, quæ supersunt etiam carius, quam emerint, vendere, modo justi pretii non prætergrediantur limites, jure tradunt Gonzales,' &c. (*De Synod. Diæc.* l. x. c. vi. n. 2.)

this way. The produce was sent to Europe, where alone it could be sold, and the money obtained was employed in purchasing what was necessary for the mission. This was done with the full knowledge of Ecclesiastical Superiors, it had never been disapproved of by them, and in no way came under the designation of commerce so repeatedly condemned by the Church. The application of these censures to the practices of the Fathers in the decree of the Cardinal was an appeal to the ignorance of the multitude for no purpose but to give an appearance of justice to an unjustifiable sentence. The reference to personal ornaments is an unjust insinuation, without any foundation, to give credit to the idea of a general traffic in precious objects carried on in defiance of the Canons. The letters of exchange and other similar transactions, had no existence, except that any one, be he cleric or laic, when he has to pay an account or receive payment, may have to do so by a cheque or a bill, which may be subject to discount according to the circumstances. But this is merely a matter of convenience, and has nothing whatever to do with banking operations, which are forbidden to ecclesiastics. The magazines in all the maritime cities are a fiction. At Lisbon only, where the Procurators lived, there were buildings in which the produce of the lands was kept till it could be sold. The Cardinal would hardly have had them leave it on the open quay. 'The general scandal of the faithful' is again entirely contrary to fact. Those who saw the transactions understood perfectly their character and object, and knew that there was nothing unlawful in them. No bishop had complained of them. It was left to Cavalho to begin the 'reformation' of the Church in Portugal by destroying the fame of the Society. The Society was looked on with unusual esteem and reverence. To speak of the noviceships, residences, houses, and we know not what 'other places,' as deposits of merchandise is again a disgraceful perversion of truth. These places had nothing to do with the missions or the sale of produce. But the Cardinal had not visited one of them, and felt himself safe in putting his name to what Carvalho put before him. The scandal occurred, though

for a different reason, when, at the expulsion of the Society, the goods that still remained in their magazines in Lisbon were paraded with all possible notoriety through the streets, and sold by public auction in the market-place as merchandise of the Jesuits.

Perhaps the best commentary to this decree of the Cardinal Visitor is a letter of the Bishop of Coria in Spain to the successor of Benedict XIV. It belongs to the next year, but I shall give an extract from it here, on account of the light it throws on the charges we are speaking of, and the despotic conduct of the Minister. Speaking of the affairs of the Society in Portugal he says—

Having on several occasions asked for information from Portuguese of good authority, they assured me they were forbidden to speak of these things, and that the Minister threatened with death any one who should do so. Already my venerable brethren have laid before your Holiness their just complaints on the subject of the atrocious calumnies and libellous pamphlets which have been there published against the Society of Jesus, and which to the great scandal of the faithful have been spread all over Spain. They have borne before you the most authentic and the most honourable testimony to this Society and the members of which it is composed. They have represented them as faithful coadjutors, devoting themselves without relaxation to feeding the flock of the Lord; they have, in fine, implored for them the succour of your supreme authority. If I had known the step they were taking, most Holy Father, I should with pleasure have joined my complaints and my prayers to theirs. These religious are far from being guilty of the crimes laid to their charge; those who accuse them do it in some cases from envy, in others from levity without examination, and in others from a secret hatred which they have imbibed in some poisonous source I know not where. I can bear testimony of this to your Holiness, and my testimony is the less liable to suspicion as I am perfectly free from all spirit of party.[21]

Such is the sentiment of the Bishops of Spain at the moment when Saldanha is giving his judgment without examination and without proof. To add to the injustice, this decree was not only printed, but spread all over the country. In obedience

[21] De Ravignan, i. p. 58.

to the command, the procurators of the various missions hastened to give up the accounts and all papers connected with the business in their hands. Magalhaens, seeing no signs of banking transactions or shares, remarked that these books were not what he wanted. There was nothing to be answered but that there was nothing else to show, that all their transactions were before him, to be examined as he thought fit.

By way of intimidating the Fathers, a report was spread that they were all about to be excommunicated, which made the Provincial consider it his duty to present himself before the Visitor, and point out to him the irregularity and injustice of his proceedings. He assured him that if they had not given up other documents it was because there were none, that he could if he wished inspect the entries for two hundred years, and he would not find a trace of commerce; that the Society was accused without being heard, and condemned as guilty without the slightest proof. Let us, he said, be confronted with our accusers, and we will undertake to silence them. He entreated his Eminence to suspend his judgment, to take regular informations on the conduct of the Society, to examine witnesses and receive depositions, not to allow himself to be influenced unfairly, but to weigh all in the balance of the sanctuary. He ended by reminding him, with a liberty with which conscious innocence furnished him, that there was a God in heaven Who was the avenger of oppressed innocence. The Cardinal was surprised and moved at this, and remained some time without speaking. He then excused himself for having published the decree, saying that he had ordered only a hundred copies, but that the printer had struck off a large number, but he should not pass unpunished. In the meantime exact inventories of the property and debts of all the Colleges were given up to Magalhaens, who placed them all in the hands, not of the Cardinal, but of the Minister, without leaving the Fathers a copy.

The murmurs which these events naturally excited among the people accustomed to look on the Fathers of the Society with reverence, and seeing beneath the cloak of a reform

nothing more than the resentment of the Minister, irritated Carvalho. He attributed them to complaints of the Jesuits, and determined to waste no more time, but to bring down on them the full authority of the Cardinal Patriarch, and cause them to be suspended from the functions of preaching and hearing confessions throughout the patriarchate. Accordingly on June 6, after having celebrated the birthday of the King, he went to the Patriarch and poured out his griefs arising from the scandalous conduct of the Jesuits, their banking establishments, their magazines filled with every kind of merchandise in all the seaports of the kingdom, their obstinacy in these crimes, notwithstanding the innumerable Bulls fulminated against them by the Sovereign Pontiffs, their rebellious conduct towards the most happy government of his Majesty, and, what was worst of all, the use they made of the sacred ministry to draw people away from the veneration and love they owed to one who was as much a father as a sovereign. The only remedy he saw was for his Eminence to suspend them from preaching and confessing, lest the contagion should spread over the whole kingdom. The Cardinal expressed his amazement at all this; he had lived constantly in Lisbon, and was neither blind nor deaf, yet he knew nothing of all these crimes. He urged that he had always known these men as most exemplary and useful to the Church, and he could not understand how they could have fallen suddenly into such excesses; that it was impossible this could be the case without something of it coming to his knowledge; besides, for him to do such an act would be a manifest insult to the Cardinal Visitor, who had received special authority from the Holy See to examine into the conduct of the Jesuits. He advised him, therefore, to institute a regular trial, and to examine the truth of the charges, that at any rate only the guilty should be punished. This was by no means what the Minister wanted. Finding persuasion useless, and unable to answer the arguments of the Cardinal, he flew into a passion, threatened him with the disgrace of the King, and the Jesuits with a fate far worse than suspension. The Cardinal held out long, but the violence of the Minister overpowered him. Knowing him to be a

man to fulfil his threats, he asked for time to consider. Carvalho saw the impression he had made, and knew that that was his moment. He would hear of no delay. The order must be signed that very evening. At length after a contest, which according to the household of the Cardinal lasted five hours, fearing worse evil, he consented to what his conscience told him was a grievous injustice, and which in fact exceeded his powers [22]—for a whole community cannot be suspended except by the Sovereign Pontiff. The decree was printed during the night, and on the following morning, June 7, the following announcement was found affixed in all the prominent places of the city.

'For just motives, for the service of God and his Majesty, we consider it our duty to suspend from the sacred ministry of preaching and hearing confessions all the religious of the Society of Jesus in this patriarchate.

'G., Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon.' [23]

Carvalho returned that night in triumph to the palace; the poor Cardinal spent a sleepless night. He loved and esteemed the Society. Only a few months before he had appointed two of the Fathers synodical examiners of his patriarchate, and one of these, Father Francisco Romano, who was still living when the account from which this is taken was published, attested that having gone to his Eminence to thank him for the honour conferred on him, the Cardinal, after speaking in great praise of the Society, said that he never felt so satisfied as to the fitness of candidates for Orders as when they had been examined by Fathers of the Society or of the Oratory.[24] The next day the Cardinal went to his country house, but the agitation from which he was suffering was so great that he was seized with fever and died within a month. Before receiving the last

[22] 'Attamen confessiones audiendi facultatem omnibus simul unius conventus Regularibus confessoribus adimi ab Episcopo inconsulta sede Apostolica nullatenus posse' (Bull *Superna*. Clement X. June 22, 1670).

[23] *Compendio dell' espulsione*, 87.

[24] *Ibid.*

sacraments, he declared publicly that the Society was innocent, and drew up a formal document to this effect, in order to give his testimony as much authenticity as possible, so as to undeceive the people and satisfy his own conscience. This document, however, was suppressed; it is not difficult to conjecture by whom. The scandal to the public arising from this new act of oppression was extreme. The Princess of Brazil fainted when she received the news, and remained long without signs of animation. The practical effects of this sudden withdrawal of so many zealous confessors, may be best judged by the fact that in the following year the period allowed for fulfilling the Easter duties of a Catholic was extended from the beginning of Lent to Pentecost, a thing hitherto unheard of in Portugal, but now necessary from the scarcity of priests. The Archbishop of Evora, hearing that the Patriarch had shed tears over his weakness, exclaimed in a transport of grief, 'Tears are not enough, he should have shed the last drop of his blood.'[25]

As was to be supposed, the Minister had no difficulty in finding a successor to the Cardinal Patriarch. In order, however, not to show an unseemly haste, he ordered a triduum of prayers in all the churches to obtain the light of the Holy Ghost for a prudent election. The public were not deceived; before the order had been published beyond the walls of the city, Cardinal Saldanha was proclaimed Patriarch of Lisbon. Meantime vexations followed one another. One day the Provincial received orders from the Patriarch to banish Father Torrez, Superior of the Professed House. No motive was given except that he had incurred the displeasure of the King. The following circumstances gave a clue. The Nuncio Acciajuoli, though deceived by the *Brief Relation* of Carvalho, esteemed the Society, and had intimate relations with several of its members, amongst whom he had chosen Father Torrez, who had been above twenty years Penitentiary in Rome, and afterwards Provincial, for his confessor. Acciajuoli disapproved strongly of the step just taken by the Patriarch, and was at no pains to conceal his sentiments. The Provincial, hoping to obtain

[25] *Anecdotas*, vol. i. p. 132.

protection from him, laid before him the oppression the Society was suffering, and begged him to support them with the new Pontiff. On the other hand, as he was on the point of starting for Rome for the Conclave, the Minister used every effort to persuade him to prejudice the mind of the new Pope against the Society. After having endeavoured for some time to put him off, and finding him insist on a positive answer, the Nuncio at length declared that such conduct would be contrary to justice, and his conscience would not allow it. The Minister at once cast his eye on Father Torrez as the cause of this determination on the part of the Nuncio. A lighter fault than this would have sufficed for his banishment. The disgrace of the Nuncio was not to be long delayed. On the same day two Fathers arrived under guard from Brazil; the Provincial received orders immediately to imprison them.

According to canon law, the powers of the Visitor ceased on the death of the Pope, in all the countries in which the Bull had not already been published. This was the case with respect to the dominions of Portugal in South America; but Carvalho on his own authority decided otherwise, and the Visitor proceeded to name Mgr. Bulhoens, Bishop of Para, a noted servant of Carvalho and an expectant of the gifts at his disposal, his delegate in Brazil. The news reached Para at the beginning of December, and the first act of the delegate was to issue a decree on December 6, by which he suspended all Jesuits in his diocese from the functions of the confessional and the pulpit. Immediately afterwards he sent a King's officer, accompanied by two captains and attendants, to the College, with orders to summon the Community to the domestic chapel and read to them the decree of delegation. Nothing further was done till April 15 of the following year, when he formally opened the Visitation in the College, taking the precaution to take with him a Host and wine for the Holy Sacrifice, as if he feared an attempt on his life. He then went to the room of the Vice-Provincial, and commanded him under pain of excommunication to compel all his subjects to answer upon oath all questions that should be put to them. In this there was in

reality no difficulty, for there was nothing to conceal. He then called for the account books, examined them again and again, without however finding anything to blame. The next step of the delegate was to write to the Bishop of Maranhão, instructing him also to suspend the members of the Society from their functions. The Bishop answered with liberty, that he did not know the motives of the delegate, but that for himself he had no cause for taking such a step, neither could he do it in conscience—that he had no reason to wish to put a stop to the ministry of the Jesuits, but great reason to desire them to continue the exercise of it, that his flock might not be deprived of the great advantages which they derived from the unwearied zeal of these faithful cooperators in the pastoral office. Not being able to gain his object by letter, Bulhoens determined to go in person to Maranhão, and was received in the residence of the Governor of the place, Don Gonzalo Lobo Pereira. This official told him at once that if he wished to ruin the city and give liberty to vice, the surest way was to suspend the Fathers of the Society from their functions; and this it must be remembered is that Maranhão whose distance from Portugal made it a convenient scene for the most atrocious calumnies against the Society. The Visitation was conducted in the same manner as at Para. The Bishop of Maranhão left the town to avoid a conflict with a man who, in violation of all right, exercised episcopal functions with mitre and crozier in the diocese of another. But he left a document in the hands of the Vicar-General, by which he allowed all the faithful to confess to the Fathers, notwithstanding any prohibition of the Bishop of Para, who had received from the Pope no such jurisdiction beyond his own diocese.

The delegate chosen by Saldanha to execute the visitation in Brazil was Don Joseph Botelho de Mattos, Archbishop of San Salvador, or Bahia. In the month of September three royal commissioners arrived at San Salvador, bringing the Bull of Reform and the letter of delegation to the Archbishop. The visitor took possession at once, and by the vigour with which he entered into the examination, did more real service to the Society than he could have done by any acts of com-

passion for the sufferings they endured. Following the instructions of Saldanha, he commanded the superiors and procurators, under pain of excommunication, to exhibit all their accounts and to declare on oath all contracts they had made. Notwithstanding this, nothing was forthcoming that in any way compromised them. After this he published an edict in all the parishes of the diocese by which every one who had any knowledge of contracts or other forbidden traffic carried on by the Jesuits was bound under penalty of excommunication to declare it within three days. As no one came forward, this zealous man, in order to bring the whole truth to light, and leave a lasting testimony of the innocence or guilt of the Fathers, instituted a regular tribunal, in which he himself, with his secretary, received depositions from as many as seventy-five of the most respectable and trustworthy persons in the diocese, who were obliged to declare on oath all that they knew concerning the business carried on by the Society. Amongst these was a brother of Saldanha himself, who had lived twenty years in the city. And yet neither he nor any of the others could in any way confirm the accusation contained in the letter of the Cardinal. He went further. He examined a certain merchant whose business it was to receive the taxes levied on all contracts made in the city, and through whose hands all such contracts and bills of exchange must have passed, and he too affirmed on oath that he had never known or heard of any transaction of the kind being carried on by Jesuits.

The innocence of the Society having been thus proved beyond doubt, the Archbishop resolutely refused to suspend the Fathers from their functions, or to allow the royal commissioners to confiscate their property, declaring that the orders received from the Cardinal and the Minister supposed the guilt to be proved, whereas their innocence had been abundantly demonstrated, and to punish the Fathers in such circumstances would be not only an offence against God and his conscience, but against the King's Majesty, who could wish for nothing but what was just. Would that there had been more prelates in the dominions of Portugal to act with the fearless-

ness of this holy man ! The Bishop of Olinda was one of those who employed the Society in everything, spoke loudly of their virtues, and never took a serious step without their counsel ; but, when orders came from the all-powerful Minister to publish a Pastoral against the Fathers, his courage failed him, and he who had before known nothing of them but good, descended so low as to publish accusations which he knew to be false. He wept, we are told, in the interior of his palace, but he had not strength to withdraw what he had written.[26] The Bishop of San Sebastian did the same, but his ignominy was still greater, for a difficult case occurring when the Fathers were imprisoned in their college, and no access being allowed through the guard by which it was invested, he was obliged to obtain permission to consult them, and received the solution of his case through the hands of the sentinel at the gate.[27] There can be little doubt that this incident served to open his eyes, but it is to be feared it failed to strengthen his heart. We are not told what emolument these two prelates received for their weakness. The Archbishop of Bahia received the reward which to such men is so sweet—the hatred of the tyrants of this world—as a public testimony that his conduct was pleasing to God. No sooner did Carvalho hear of his refusal to suspend the Society than he sent immediate orders for the confiscation of his property and his expulsion from his palace. He commanded the Chapter to declare the see vacant, and to proceed to the election of a Vicar-Capitular. The Archbishop retired to a little church outside the city, where he lived the life of a hermit, supporting himself on the alms of the faithful, till death crowned the constancy with which he had sacrificed all he had in the cause of justice. The reform had gone no further when shorter and sharper measures were adopted to accomplish the desired end. It ought in justice to be mentioned that one of the three commissioners sent to Brazil refused to act against the Society. Public report in the country related that a terrible storm having arisen during the voyage to Brazil, they all three

[26] *Vita V. P. E. Corrœ, Animadv.* p. 182.
[27] *Ibid.* 183.

made a vow that if they reached their destination in safety they would abstain from the execution of the unjust orders against the Society, and that this one alone remembered his vow. This was Don G. Mascarenhas, son of the commissioner sent to examine into the rising at Oporto of which I have already spoken. Be this as it may, he shared the reward of the intrepid Archbishop of San Salvador, and so many others who had no fear for the man who could only take away the life of the body.

CHAPTER VI.

Clement XIII. and Father Ricci.

THE death of Benedict XIV. was the signal for a crowd of the enemies of the Society to gather at Rome in the hope of contributing to the election of a Pope hostile to its interests. These men were chiefly religious living out of their monasteries, priests either of no position, or of suspected principles, and others well known for their Jansenistical opinions. Amongst these was the Abbé Clément, a declared Jansenist, sent expressly by the faction in France to influence the election. What was seen on a much larger scale on the election of Clement XIV., was already witnessed now. It seemed already as if there was but one question to be solved, and it was evident enough to every one on which side the enemies of the Church had ranged themselves. The Jansenists put out all their strength to secure the election of a Pope hostile to the Society, but it was without effect.

On July 6, 1758, the new Pope was chosen. He was Charles Rezzonico, born in Venice in 1693; he had been made Cardinal in 1737, and Bishop of Padua in 1745, and he now ascended the Papal throne under the name of Clement XIII.

The character of this Pope has been described differently, according to the side on which those who have written con-

cerning him ranged themselves in the great contest in which he was called to take part. But the accusations that are brought against him, as Father Böero remarks, may be all summed up in the words of Theiner, that he 'was ignorant of the wants and the circumstances of the times.'[1] All give him the character of fervent piety, of tender charity, and a rare uprightness and justice in the performance of his duty. But there are writers to whom the boldness with which he defended the innocent before the tribunals of Princes, the great firmness with which he resisted all efforts exerted to lead him to recede from the line of conduct which he had marked out as that of his duty, and the generous courage with which he placed himself in the breach to resist the attacks of infidelity and oppression, are signs of an ignorance of the times and an unfitness to govern the Church in those sad days. 'He was a Pope of the twelfth century,' says M. Alexis de Saint Priest, 'who had wandered into the eighteenth,' which can only mean that he stood unshaken amid the convulsions of the infidelity of the eighteenth century as Innocent did before the Empire of the twelfth. 'Otherwise meek and timid,' says Theiner, 'he became at once a wall of stone immoveable against the threats, the violence, the ignominies with which the Courts afflicted him, because he read the will of the Lord written in his own conscience.'[2] The truth is Clement XIII. knew well the times in which he was called to the Chair of Peter. He knew the deplorable state into which the machinations of infidels and schismatics and the connivance of Courts had thrown the cause of religion in so many Catholic countries of Europe. He beheld with a true insight into its nature the deluge of irreligion that was breaking over Europe, and, as a sentinel set upon a watch-tower, he raised his voice to warn Christian Princes of the enemy that threatened them no less than their common Mother. He knew well, too, the danger and the duty which his high office brought him, and he ceased not to admonish and correct and exhort; and, when all the

[1] *Osserv. sopra Theiner*, p. 125.
[2] Vol. iii. p. 98.

Powers of Europe were leagued together to induce him to withdraw an act which justice had dictated, their efforts were as helpless as have always been the waves of irreligion against the Rock of Christ. No wonder then those to whom all other powers had yielded, found this Pope out of place in the eighteenth century. As to his personal character, it is interesting to read the testimonies of men who must be far from any suspicion of prejudice in his favour. The Abbé Clément writes thus of him—

> At Padua, Rezzonico went by no other name than that of the Saint: he was an exemplary man, who, notwithstanding the immense revenues of his diocese and of his own patrimony, was always without money, owing to his alms, giving away even his linen. . . . When it was proposed to make him Pope, he showed the greatest repugnance and for some time refused, but finally yielded. He had no other dependence on the Society than that which was inspired by his esteem for the regularity of their conduct and their zeal for the functions of the ministry.[3]

The testimony of the astronomer Lalande is interesting, being that of a known infidel, but one whose heart was still capable of being touched with admiration for Christian virtue. He says in his *Voyage en Italie*—

> Clement XIII. is a man of irreproachable morals, of edifying piety, and unalterable sweetness. The evils of the Church draw from him only tears. I have admired his zeal, his vigilance, his moderation in speaking even of those who least of all deserve his consideration.[4]

Such, according to no prejudiced witnesses, was the man who was destined by God to stand as a bulwark in defence of the Society, and by his testimony to its virtues prove to the world, with the authority of the Vicar of Christ, the real object of the persecution raised against it. His probity was too true to have defended the Society for any human motives, even if such had existed.

[3] De Ravignan, vol. i. p. 26. [4] *Ibid.*

The anti-Jesuit faction did not however give up the contest. The new Pope was known to love the Society. He bore too high a character for justice for them to hope to influence him by unworthy motives. They set to work to incline his judgment to a line as little unfavourable to their views as possible. They had already, says Cordara, gained the favour of Cardinal Spinelli, who enjoyed the confidence of the new Pope, and having had considerable part in his election, had reason to expect his voice to be heard. Through his means, then, they began to impress on the Holy Father the necessity of great prudence with respect to the Jesuits. He was advised to take no strong measures in their favour, was reminded that he was the Father of all, and should therefore show no partiality to one Order in particular, that he could not take the part of the Jesuits without some risk, especially if any Court were offended with them—that in that case he might produce a rupture between a Catholic Power and the See of Rome, and perhaps even a schism. All this was true, but it was intended to convey much more than the words signified. The wise Pope knew how to distinguish what was prudent from what was malevolent in these counsels. At the same time strong efforts were made to gain over some members of the Holy Office, which they knew, being the tribunal of faith, must have especial weight with His Holiness. A translation of the second part of Berruyer's able but extravagant work, the *Histoire du People de Dieu*, had just appeared in Venice: the French edition had already been condemned, and the faction besieged the Holy Office to obtain from it not only a condemnation of the work but a severe reprehension of the Society, as refractory and disobedient. The Holy Father condemned the book without lifting his hand against the Order, which he knew well had nothing to say to this edition.

A letter of the Abbé Clément written to his friends in Paris, and dated 9th of August, gives considerable light as to the action of the party in Rome at this time. I have already given his testimony as to the virtues of the new Pope. It will be seen that to throw a shroud over the discomfiture of the

party in the election, and to enhance his own merits, he represents the Pope as opposed to the Society, though no one in Rome was ignorant that the anti-Jesuit faction felt itself to have suffered a serious defeat. Of the designs of the party to which Clément belonged to undermine the Society, the letter bears sufficient testimony. It is as follows—

The exaltation of Rezzonico is the work of God alone ; and we have reason to believe that He has given him to us as an effect of His mercy, that he may complete what has been so well begun by his predecessor. Our enemies have been taken in, and have wasted their brains, their efforts, and their money. It is an incontestable fact that they have had no part whatever in the creation of this Pope. This great business has been determined on, proposed, and carried through all at once by those members of the Sacred College who are of better sentiments. On this point I could give you information as certain as it is consoling, but the necessity of being brief compels me to pass it over. The same Cardinals to whom Rezzonico owes his elevation, and to whom he did not give his consent without much grief and many tears, are now his only counsellors, and the Pope has taken all the steps necessary to procure for them easy access to his person, and they form a cordon round him which the Reverend Fathers will find it hard to pass. They are complaining bitterly, and their present consternation proves that they made show of triumph at first only in order to be able to regain the victory which up to that time they had lost. They have not been able to gain even the least post about the Apostolic Palace, notwithstanding all their solicitude and all their treasures. What a cruel position is this for the Jesuits, who will find no protection there ! Even if the Pope were favourable to them he would be unable to help them ; things are gone too far, and there is a firm resolution not to recede. To give you something more precise about the character of the Pope, and to give you the result of innumerable facts I have collected on this subject, I may say, He is a man whose conduct and piety are known and praised by all. He has always had the intimate confidence of persons of solid piety and sound doctrine, for instance, of Concina. He has always been a follower of the Dominicans, whom he esteems much. He has never had a Jesuit confessor, and when he was at his see at Padua, he said to the Dominicans, that it was only the necessity of making use of what

he found in his diocese, that obliged him to suffer them to give their missions. He is extremely timid in matters of doctrine, and in this point will take no resolution of his own, being resolved to refer everything to the Holy Office, which could not be composed of better subjects than it is at present. He has given all the important and decisive posts to those who occupied them with universal approbation under Benedict XIV. Finally, the dissolute Cardinals, who are in great number [it is a Jansenist that is writing], feel that they have given themselves a master and a reformer.

There is much here to consider; the principles of Clément are well known. Who, it may be asked, can say after reading this letter that this Pope was surrounded by Jesuits? or how could Theiner write that 'it was the General of the Society, with certain prelates, who drew up the Constitution *Apostolicum*, in the most profound secrecy,'[5] or that 'the influence of the Jesuits had overthrown the efforts of Portugal to become reconciled with the Holy See'?[6] and how could d'Aubeterre write to Choiseul, but a few years later, that 'every one about the Pope is absolutely Jesuit, that secretary, confessor, physician, even attendants of the Camera, are dependents of these religious; that they hold every angle of the Palace'?[7] The truth is this, Clément wrote to raise the hopes of his party; and it was the system, then as now, to attribute to the Jesuits every act of the Pope in opposition to the faction, and when the Pope was immoveable, it was the Jesuits who were all-powerful. It is needless to point out the spirit exhibited in this letter as that of the party who opposed the Society; nor will any one say that Clément was animated by the purest zeal for the Church. For the rest, the writer deserves no reliance for truth. The Pope had at this time a nephew in the College of Nobles, and another was a member of the Society; and he was certainly not opposed to it, though his first acts did not reassure the Fathers. The Dominicans are here represented as antagonistic to the Society. It was part of the tactics of the enemies of the Church to represent as real

[5] Vol. i. p. 67. [6] P. 117. [7] P. 152.

divisions what were no more than the rivalries of schools. The Dominicans were in honour, and it served the purpose of the party to represent them as opposed to the Society. In those sad times degenerate individuals of many Orders took active part against it, for Jansenism had insinuated itself into many sanctuaries, and jealousy had corrupted many hearts. But, as will be noticed later, the Dominican Order showed, in the most difficult of times, a true charity to the Society, which can never be forgotten.

Almost at the same time another figure destined to stand prominent in the conflict that was about to rage, and who will for ever be the object of the sympathy due to persecuted virtue, appears upon the scene. The General of the Society of Jesus, Father Louis Centurioni, having died on October 8, 1757, after a short government of less than two years, Father Lorenzo Ricci was chosen on May 21, 1758, to guide the helm through a sea so full of dangers, while storms hung full of rage on every part of the horizon. Ricci was born on August 3, 1703, from a noble family in Florence, long an object of interest to Catholics on account of the Saint whom it had given to the Church. He was admitted into the Society on December 16, 1718. From his earliest youth he showed a singular piety, an innocence of life which shone above that even of his companions in religion, and a mind gifted with brilliant talents, which marked him out throughout his career for the most honourable employments his age admitted. He is described as being throughout his life a model to all in exactness in religious observance, diligence in his duties, and respectfulness towards every one. His character was gentle, patient, and simple; there was nothing double in his nature, and those who lived with him have left us this incomparable testimony, which sums up so many other virtues, that he was irreproachable in his words.[8] As soon as he had finished his philosophical studies he was sent to teach rhetoric at Siena, after that of Rome the most important college in the Province, where the most brilliant subjects were always employed; and

[8] MS. Life, Archiv. S.J.

after having completed his theological studies, which he crowned by defending the whole course with great success, and having successively filled the chair of philosophy at Siena, and that of philosophy and theology in Rome, he was appointed Spiritual Father in the Roman College. Great as had been his success in his other offices, it was in this principally that he drew all hearts to himself. The spirit which he instilled into this great community, the eagerness with which his direction was sought by the most experienced Fathers from the Gesù and other houses, not to speak of the many prelates who chose him for their confessor, marked him as a man chosen by God to prepare the youth of the Society for the terrible conflict they were to sustain; and his own tender love of the Crucifix, which he meditated daily, and of which he could hardly speak without tears, shows us now how God was fitting him in the secret of His Providence for the heavy cross which He destined him to bear.

It was with great grief then that the community of the Roman College saw their spiritual director taken from them, when Father Centurioni, on his election to the office of General in December, 1755, chose him to be Secretary of the Society. It was in vain he urged his inaptitude for business, or the student's life he had hitherto led, the General saw how useful to the Society in a wider field must be those qualities of sound judgment, of singular uprightness and holiness of life that he had exhibited in every step of his religious life. And, on his death this judgment was confirmed by the General Congregation, of which, as well as of the previous one, Ricci himself was a member, in their choice of him as Superior of the whole Society in those most difficult times. The special feature of his government, it is said, was shown in a singular harmony and union which reigned throughout the Society. The persecutions from without had an effect which is always seen when the foundation of virtue is solid, that of increasing interior fervour, and the gentle spirit, and fervent piety, and exact observance of Ricci, diffused an influence from within that united all hearts in God. The conduct of the Society during

the suppression is alone a testimony of the state of religious observance in which it then was; and to speak with Ricci, says his biographer, was enough to refute every accusation.

The new General saw from the outset the gravity of the circumstances in which God had placed him. As the votes of the Congregation seemed to be gathering in successive scrutinies towards him, unable to conceal from himself the prospect of the load which he thought himself unable to bear, he might be seen in the little tribunes that overhang the Church of the Gesù pouring forth his prayers and tears before our Lord, beseeching Him not to trust His Society to one so weak. But, when God had declared His will by the votes of the Congregation, he at once girded himself to his work, and began to take what measures were in his power to avert the storm. Scarcely had the new Pope taken his seat on the throne of St. Peter, than, on July 31, the auspicious day sacred to the memory of his founder, the General of the Society appeared at his feet and presented to him a memorial, which, on account of its importance and the storm it raised among the enemies of the Society, I shall give in full.

Most Holy Father,—The General of the Society of Jesus, prostrate before your Holiness, humbly represents to you the distress and injury which his Order is suffering from the events which are going on in Portugal. By attributing the gravest crimes to those of the Order who are established in the territories of his most Faithful Majesty, their enemies have obtained from Benedict XIV. of happy memory, a Brief, by which his Eminence Cardinal Saldanha is deputed Visitor and Reformer with the most extensive powers. This Brief has not only been published in Portugal, but reprinted and spread throughout Italy.

In virtue of this, the most Eminent Visitor has issued a decree, in which all these religious are declared everywhere guilty of carrying on commerce. In addition to this, his Eminence the Cardinal Patriarch, paying no attention to the Constitution *Superna* of Clement X., which forbids bishops to withdraw from a whole religious community at once their powers of hearing confessions without having first consulted the Holy See, *inconsulta Sede*

Apostolica, has interdicted from hearing confessions and preaching all the religious of the Society, not only in his diocese of Lisbon, but even throughout the whole extent of his Patriarchate. Without having given them personally any intimation of such an interdict, he has caused the decree to be suddenly published in all the churches in Lisbon—facts of which the General has in his hand authentic proofs.

The religious in Portugal have borne the execution of these decrees, so overwhelming for them, with the humble submission that became them. They are most intimately persuaded of the upright intentions of his most Faithful Majesty, of his Ministers, and of the two Eminent Cardinals. Nevertheless, they fear that they have been deceived by the artifices of evil-intentioned persons, since they cannot persuade themselves that their brethren are guilty of such atrocious crimes; especially as, no one of them having been brought personally to justice, they have not had the opportunity of defending or exculpating themselves.

Moreover, although there might be individuals guilty of the atrocious crimes attributed to them, they flatter themselves that the guilt does not belong to all, nor even to the greater part, although they find themselves all included in the same punishment. Finally, even although all the religious in the states of his most Faithful Majesty were guilty from the first to the last, which apparently cannot be supposed, the others who are toiling in various parts of the world to procure the honour of God and the salvation of souls according to their feeble strength, earnestly ask to be treated with clemency. The discredit and the evil extends itself to the whole community, although the crimes attributed to the Fathers of Portugal fill them with horror, as does everything that can tend the least to offend Superiors, whether ecclesiastic or secular. On the contrary, it is the desire and the endeavour of the Society to render itself, as far as possible, exempt even from those failings which are the common lot of human nature, and especially of the multitude.

Certainly the Superiors of the Society, as appears from the registers of their correspondence, have always insisted on the most exact observance of the rules as well in the Provinces of Portugal as in all others. On certain occasions they have been informed of deficiencies of another kind, but of the crimes now imputed to these religious, they have never had notice. They have neither been admonished of them nor called on

to remedy them. When at length they were informed, although indirectly, that these Fathers had incurred the displeasure of his Majesty, they showed the most extreme grief. They entreated him to give them an exact knowledge of the crimes and of the guilty persons; they offered to send from other countries the most capable and most esteemed Fathers to make a Visitation, and reform any abuse that might have been introduced, but neither their humble prayers nor their offers received any attention.

Moreover, it is much feared that this Visitation and this reform instead of being of any profit will produce useless troubles. This is especially feared with respect to countries beyond the sea, where the most Eminent Cardinal has power to delegate, and is obliged to do so. Complete confidence is felt as to what the Cardinal will do himself; but there appears reason to fear that in these delegations persons may be found, either little acquainted with the Constitutions of Regulars, or of evil design, who may thus produce great evils. For all these reasons, the General of the Society of Jesus, in the name of the Society, implores with the most earnest and humble prayers the authority of your Holiness. He entreats you to provide, by means which your exalted prudence will suggest, for the security and protection of those who are not guilty, and in particular for the honour of the whole Society; that it may not thus be rendered useless for the glory of God and the salvation of souls; and that it may not be prevented from serving the Holy See, and seconding the pious zeal of your Holiness, for whom the General himself and the Society will offer to God the most sincere prayer, to obtain for you all heavenly blessings, a long series of years, and the good and prosperity of the Universal Church.

It is impossible not to be struck by the modesty and justice of this appeal, and yet perhaps the most arrogant manifesto never raised a greater storm against its author. Cordara tells us that Ricci was so jealous of the secrecy of this memorial that he intrusted it to no one, and that the copy which he presented to the Pope was written with his own hand. The Holy Father received it kindly; but before giving any answer referred it to the Holy Office for counsel. No one is ignorant of the secrecy to which the members of this Congregation are bound. Nevertheless, the document was found immediately

after to be in the hands of Almada, whose rage, it is said, knew no bounds. It could only be the evident justice of the demand, and the effect it must necessarily have upon the mind of a Pontiff so single-minded, and so fearless of men as Clement XIII., that roused him to such fury, and the enemies of the Society to the extraordinary efforts they took, lest they should lose a prey which they saw to be almost in their hands. The document was sent in all directions, and soon after printed with voluminous notes embodying all the calumnies brought against the Society from its origin, and circulated through Europe. Before noticing this any further, I must place before the reader the *Votum*, or protest, presented to the Holy Father, in opposition to the memorial, by Cardinal Passionei, which will show him what formidable enemies were arrayed against the Society even by the side of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. If the inquiry in Portugal had been carried on with that zeal for truth and regularity which the Cardinal presumes, there would have been little to say against this protest; as it is, it is a subtle plea, with no foundation in real truth, to induce the Father of the Faithful to abandon a portion of the family committed to him to their most implacable enemies, to persuade the shepherd to give up his flock to wolves ravening for its destruction. I translate the document from the MS. Life of Father Ricci, making at the same time a few remarks as I proceed. It is as follows—

In order to speak with fruit of the affairs of the Jesuits residing in the dominions of the King of Portugal, it is necessary in the first place to put the facts in their proper light. The Jesuits were accused to this Holy See by the King of Portugal on many charges. Benedict XIV. of holy memory took up the case, but not being able to enter into it himself, entrusted it to Cardinal Saldanha, a person beyond all exception, owing to his rank, which is next to that of the Pope, his facilities for obtaining the best information, his impartiality, having no bias or animosity towards any party, and the character which the Nuncio gives him, saying of him that he is a man of the greatest exactness, full of true ecclesiastical zeal, and of a becoming submission to the head of the Catholic Church.

We have seen the circumstances under which the accusations were made, and the reform granted, as well as the influence brought to bear on Saldanha, and we shall later see the Nuncio himself driven by armed force from Portugal under pretence of being head of a conspiracy against the King.

The above-mentioned Cardinal, having received the Brief which declared him Visitor and Reformer of the Society, named as Secretary of the Visitation Mgr. Magalhaens, one of the prelates of the patriarchal church, a man of repute for learning especially in canon and civil law, as the Nuncio writes [but a creature of Carvalho].[9] After some time the Cardinal published the edict [signed thirteen days after the promulgation of the Visitation but before it had been opened and before any examination had been instituted] in which the Fathers are declared guilty of commerce, the various kinds of which are specified. It is against this edict that the memorial which I have undertaken to examine is directed. It contains two parts, one of justification, the other of supplication. The justification claims just so much authority and consideration as is due to similar memorials of guilty persons, it being well known that men find it hard to confess themselves guilty, and that their excuses do not clear their conscience, especially when they are carried to a sovereign who has not tried the case and knows nothing of it.

It is to be remembered that Saldanha instituted no trial, examined no one either before or after his decree, but rested only on the word of Carvalho.

If a criminal, condemned by the Government here in Rome, has recourse to the Pope, though it is question of a crime committed before his eyes, he nevertheless refers him to his judge, and neither can nor ought to do otherwise, unless he wishes to interrupt the course of justice and cast dishonour on the judge by exhibiting him as either ignorant or unfaithful. This would be exactly the case in the present matter, if any action were taken before the judgment was completed, and if the justification of the memorial were listened to. Indeed it would be worse, for the memorial is not drawn up by the guilty themselves, but by their superiors, who acknowledge themselves ignorant of the facts. To interfere now with this trial, or rather with these facts, would be to offer a great

[9] The passages within the brackets are mine.

offence to the Cardinal Visitor and would be a discredit and dishonour to the Holy See, which has given him faculty to execute his decrees, '*without delay or appeal which could in any way impede execution*,' and no one would be again found to accept such a charge.

The few words which the Cardinal here cites from the Brief which I have placed in italics, were calculated to give the new Pope a very false idea of the intention of his predecessor. As we have seen, Benedict XIV. had already said—

In the first place, after having informed himself fully on everything, he is to lay open and refer all to us, that after mature consideration we may opportunely, and as shall be most salutary, decide what is to be done.

He then tells him that if he finds any failing in their duty in any way, he is to punish and chastise and restore them to their duty, and he is to see that whatever he orders or ordains is observed 'without delay or appeal,' &c. But to show that he gives him power to act only in cases of minor importance, he continues—

But if you should find any matters of a more serious nature, all such things you are immediately and with all diligence to transmit to us under the inclosure of your own seal, for we shall take counsel from the circumstances of the case and the occasion, and with many tears and a loud cry shall implore and beseech the Omnipotent God, in order that after mature deliberation we may be able to determine what is to be done.[10]

It must here be remarked that it is in the clause quoted by Passionei that the suspicion of interpolation has forced itself

[10] 'Absque dilatione et appellatione quæ executionem quoquomodo ullatenus impediat.' We had before had, 'Primum de omnibus . . . plenissime instructus, eadem ad nos deinde referat aperiatque, ut postea matura consideratione adhibita quidquid statuendum sit opportune et saluberrime decernamus,' and afterwards, 'Si quæ autem graviora . . . repereris, ea omnia sub tuo sigillo clausa ad nos quam primum diligenter transmittas . . . ex re enim et tempore consilium capiemus, et effusis lachrymis Omnipotentem Deum, clamore valido orabimus, atque obsecrabimus ut quod inde statuendum sit matura deliberatione decernamus.'

on the minds of many. As represented by him it is in manifest contradiction to the passages of the Brief which precede and follow it, but when the whole text is considered, this supposition ceases to be necessary.

However this may be, it is quite certain, that if the above words are genuine they are to be understood according to the spirit of the other clauses, which forbade any action on matters of importance without previous reference to the Holy See. The Cardinal then continues—

Turning now to the second part of the memorial which contains a supplication, we see that three things are asked : first, that the innocent be not punished ; secondly, that just and useful steps be taken for the amendment of the guilty ; and thirdly, that the credit of the Order be saved. As to the first two heads, that is the impunity of the innocent, and the amendment of the guilty, provision is made *ipso jure* by the choice of the incorrupt and enlightened man to whom the cause has been committed.

We have seen that there were grave reasons for fearing the contrary. The Visitor appears to have done neither more nor less than what Carvalho made him do. He continues—

The doubt may present itself whether the judge in his desire to observe the rules which canon and civil law impose on every judge, can be contented with a useful correction, and is not bound to proceed to a just punishment.

This doubt is removed by the order of the Pope to refer everything of importance to himself, an order which was entirely set aside by the Visitor.

As to the third head, that of saving the credit of the Order, that is in the hands of the religious themselves and particularly of the Superiors ; if they will lend a hand sincerely to this reform they will maintain their credit.

But the first question which demanded a careful investigation, which was never given to it, was whether a reform was needed at all. It is quite evident from the instruction of Benedict XIV. that he was no way convinced of it. Such

expressions as—'applying a remedy *if it is necessary* . . . to the abuses which *it is supposed* have crept in. . . . In the first place, to ascertain *whether the abuses and crimes imputed to the Jesuits are true* . . . to use all diligence to discover what are the *supposed* articles of traffic, and *whether they become religious or not:* abuses which *possibly* may have been introduced into the houses of the Society'—demonstrate more than sufficiently how very strong were the doubts which he entertained whether the whole was not an atrocious calumny, to which, as he himself expresses it, 'the repeated *instances made by the Court of Portugal have compelled me* to give attention.' It was, therefore, very unjust of Cardinal Passionei to take this for granted, and so to represent it to the new Pope, who might probably not have in his mind the details of the instruction of his predecessor, which, however, Passionei, as Secretary of Briefs, must have known well. The Cardinal told Clement XIII. that the Society had long lost its credit in the eyes of men even of small enlightenment, and yet Benedict XIV., only four months before, had written of it, 'that good opinion which through its great diligence it has till now justly possessed,' to say nothing of the other documents I have quoted, and the fact that up to this very time every Bishop, even in Portugal, was employing their ministry. It is strange, too, that he did not reflect that the greater portion of the books published against the Society were written by Jansenists and heretics, and had been repeatedly condemned by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.

But if they resist the reform, and show themselves insincere in their desire of it, and contrive cunningly to delay it so as to reduce it to nothing, they may possibly deceive a few, but not the public, and the Order will be discredited more than ever. With respect to the edict of the Patriarch, withdrawing from the Jesuits the faculties for hearing confessions and preaching, as we do not know the motives for this suspension, prudence requires that we ascertain them from the Nuncio, and from the new Patriarch, who will use all diligence to acquaint us with the truth, and with what is probable.

He then proceeds to justify it, by assuming, what was quite

contrary to the truth, that the accusations against the Society had been juridically proved to be true.

If we might make a conjecture, it would be, that the decree of the Cardinal Visitor having authentically certified the public and universal commerce [which is in slight contradiction to what Passionei had already asserted, that Clement XIII. could not know the facts of the case] carried on by these Fathers, by which they showed that they cared neither for Divine precepts nor for the teachings of the Holy Fathers, the Canons of Councils, or the Bulls of Popes, the Patriarch considered he ought no longer to intrust the care of souls to any one who *non consulebat animæ suæ*, and to whom it ought to be said, *Medice cura te ipsum.* In fine, the most prudent judgment would be to refer this question, with the suppliants and the memorial, to the Cardinal Visitor, so as not to impede the course of justice, and not to give a slur to so worthy a Cardinal after his first decree, the more so as there are no grounds for a step so irregular and so discreditable to the Holy See.

The Cardinal must have known very well that the memorial asked only for justice, and that to point out at the feet of the Holy Father the violation of canon law already committed against the Society by the Visitor himself, and to ask him, as Father of the Faithful, to watch that the malice of their enemies should not influence the course of the Visitation, and that the innocent be not punished with the guilty, as had already been done, was not to impede justice or to ask for an act unworthy of the Holy See, but to arrest injustice in its course and to avert the greatest dishonour of the Supreme Pontiff, the punishment of the innocent in his name. Nevertheless, he adds—

These are the motives of conscience, justice, and good order. We may pass over the political relations between this Court and that of Portugal, which, for all we know, would not quietly suffer a course of justice commenced within its limits under Pontifical authority, at its own request and with its sanction, to be transferred here. I pass over the prayer for a hearing, contained in the memorial, for the Cardinal Visitor has followed rule so exactly, that it is impossible that the Fathers should not have been heard.

But the fact is notorious. The assumption of the Cardinal

that it was impossible that it could be so was of no value by the side of the testimony of facts which the General could bring, and was calculated only to deceive his Holiness. He continues—

> But if they wish to produce other reasons, they should lay them before those who can answer them, which cannot be done here for want of knowledge of the facts. There is, moreover, no reason to fear that the Cardinal will delegate persons who are either ill-intentioned or ignorant of the laws regarding religious. This is what is called taking exception to the judge and the witnesses before knowing who the others are.

Such were the two memorials, that of the General of the Society asking, as Crétineau-Joly says, the only favour one man cannot refuse another, that of not being condemned without being judged, and the other of Cardinal Passionei urging the Holy Father to allow the injustice already commenced to take its course. Clement XIII. saw that the interests of justice demanded his intervention, and that the time was now come for him to interpose in favour of the Society, already too grievously oppressed by abuse of powers granted by the Holy See. A congregation was appointed to examine into the affairs of the Jesuits, and the report was favourable to the Society. Of this report Almada de Mendoza published a false version which was unfavourable to the Society, giving full credence to the Portuguese Minister, but it was suppressed by public authority in Rome, and the copies seized were burned by the common executioner as apocryphal and calumnious. This decision of the Holy See served for a time as a check to the audacity of Carvalho.

The position of affairs in Rome was by this time very much altered. Carvalho thought he was carrying out his own designs through the tact of his agent Almada. This latter appeared as the Minister of the smallest European State, but he was in reality principally the tool of the Jansenist party spread throughout the Christian world. Their views extended far beyond Portugal, but they willingly gave Almada the credit of their acts. These men supplied him with continual reports calculated to excite

the Portuguese Minister against the Jesuits. They represented Clement XIII. as devoted to the Society, and constantly added nourishment to the already inflamed passions, while Portuguese gold flowed in to pay the faction for doing its own work. It was determined not only to resist the influence of the memorial of the General, but to take advantage of it to republish long-forgotten calumnies against the Society. The first thing to be done was to choose a ready writer, capable of representing falsehood as truth, without scruple as to the reputation of one's neighbour, and as it were fired with a holy indignation at the faults of consecrated men, who interfered with the designs of the party. The choice fell upon Mgr. Bottari, of whose fitness for the task the reader may himself judge. He at once set to work, and in a short time produced the celebrated *Reflections of a Portuguese on the memorial presented to His Holiness Clement XIII. by the Jesuits.* It purported to be published in Lisbon, with permission of superiors; but, as will be shown later, it was clandestinely printed in Rome, and was written, not by a Portuguese, but by an Italian. The copy before me is a volume of 190 pages, of which the memorial itself occupies about four. The memorial regarded only the events now occurring in Portugal; it was a prayer for an impartial inquiry, and a declaration of the willingness of the Society to abide by the justice of its cause. The book before me contains no proofs of guilt, but the reassertion of every calumny cast against the Society from the beginning of its history in all the four quarters of the globe. The invasion of China by the Tartars,[11] the defeat of Sebastian of Portugal in Morocco,[12] the assassination of Henry IV. of France,[13] and the revolt of the Indians in Paraguay,[14] are all alike attributed to the Jesuits, without question, but without any proof. The stories had been refuted a hundred times, and they do not belong to my object. Needless to say, Palafox and the 'Venerable' Bernardino de Cardenas, of whom we have said enough, are brought as witnesses against the Society. To them is added M. Covet, of whom it is said that in his own line he has no equal. M. Covet

[11] P. 51. [12] *Ibid.* [13] P. 124. [14] Pp. 53, 73.

was Vicar-General of Mgr. de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, an adherent of Quesnel, and an appellant against the Bull *Unigenitus*, whose letters, clandestinely printed in Siena, were forbidden to be read in Rome. It is useless to enumerate the accusations contained in this book. The mere catalogue would fill pages, and to answer them would require volumes. Many of them will be disposed of incidentally in various parts of this work. They are summarily answered by the praises which the Holy See never ceased to bestow on the Society, the esteem in which it was always held by the holiest men in the Church, and the unfailing hatred the Fathers always met with from the enemies of the faith. These are a stronger testimony than the words of a clandestine author telling us that the Jesuits sent marshals, captains, engineers, of their own body, into Paraguay; that Fathers of the Society were taken without their habits acting as captains at the head of the rebels; that the Jesuits in Rome have a public bank in the Professed House,[15] and the same in every other mercantile city in the world; that in Rome itself, under the eyes of the Pope and of the whole population, they carry on a vast and lucrative, and at the same time a vile and mean, commerce. Were there a foundation for all this, how is it that, according to Benedict. XIV., great diligence was required to ascertain whether the Society really did carry on any traffic forbidden by the canons or unbecoming the religious state, and that Passionei told Clement XIII. that he could not know the facts, and should therefore not interfere in the question? It was, then, at least not evident that the canons were violated. Whence, then, this contradiction, whence this tone of outraged justice, of indignant righteousness, which pervades the book from one end to the other? The explanation is this. Cardinal Passionei could not have deceived the Pope on this head if he had wished; he would have been discredited if he had attempted: but he had no such object. He sought only to secure the advantage gained by the powers already given to the Visitor, by dissuading the new Pope from the action which he

[15] P. 61.

foresaw, from the justice of his character and his knowledge of the passions of men, was sure to follow. But the unknown writer, shielded under a false title and a fictitious press, had nothing to lose. His object was to deceive the multitude and inflame the passions. His picture of the excesses of the Jesuits in Rome would be believed in foreign countries, and his stories regarding Portugal would be listened to by many in Rome, while his expressions of love for the Church and zeal for the purity of the sanctuary would convince the simple of the holiness of his motives, and before there was time to answer the calumnies the iniquity might be consummated. It was the Jansenist craft heading the attack against the hereditary enemies of the sect.

This book, which is nothing less than diabolical for the malice and falsehood with which it teems, was received with exultation by the party. But it soon lost credit, partly, says Cordara, because the Roman people are accustomed to Pasquinades and know how to despise them, partly because the falsehoods about the Society in Rome were so evident that they destroyed the credit of the rest, and partly also, he adds, because the author had not the wit to see that to gain his object he must write something at least credible. Every one would have supposed that such a work, made up in great measure from such books as the *Theatrum Jesuiticum*, the *Tuba Magna*, the *Tuba Altera*, the *Artes Jesuiticæ*, and others long since condemned, would have been at once placed on the Index. And so it would have been, but Almada, true to the part he had to play, stormed against such a proceeding, declaring that any open measures in favour of the Jesuits would produce a schism in Portugal. Thus the Holy Father was advised to close his eyes for fear of greater evil.

I must now place before my readers the letter written by Cardinal Achinto to the Nuncio in Lisbon, in which he refers to the conduct of the Visitor and the Memorial of Father Ricci. The letter is full of charity for the Society, and is remarkable for the exquisite prudence with which the Cardinal seeks to remedy the evil done by the reformer without wounding the

susceptibilities of the Court. Yet this letter was represented by the faction as a 'declaration of war against the Court of Portugal expressed in extraordinary and indecorous terms.'

On my referring to His Holiness the letters of your Excellency of May 2, June 6 and 13, and July 18, on the visitation of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, intrusted by a Brief of Benedict XIV. of holy memory to Cardinal Saldanha, and the suspension from hearing confessions and preaching inflicted on the same Fathers in the patriarchate or diocese of Lisbon by a decree of the Cardinal Patriarch Manuel, as also regarding another decree issued by the Cardinal Visitor on the commerce which is imputed to the Fathers of the same Society, His Holiness, in order to gain counsel, which he declares is his wish in all grave matters, and to follow the practice of his predecessors, having determined to hear the opinions of some Cardinals, chose those who compose the congregation of the Holy Office—not that he considered that this matter belonged to the sacred tribunal, but because all the Cardinal Ministers of His Holiness, that is the Palatines,[16] are in that congregation, and some of the Catholic theologians, and finally, because, having frequently to meet them, that is, at least once a week, he can easily speak with them on anything that occurs, without giving rise to surprise or rumours, which are unavoidable when there are extraordinary congregations. I mention this that you may be able to explain any difficulty that may arise in Lisbon from what may be written.

Together with those despatches, His Holiness has also referred to the Cardinals a memorial of the Father General of the Society of Jesus, of which he encloses a copy. From this you will see with what moderation and respect for his Majesty and his ministers he calls to mind that, although there be in the Order persons guilty of these supposed atrocious crimes, not all the Jesuits generally of this kingdom and the dominions beyond sea will be culpable, and consequently he only asks that care be taken not to involve the innocent, who are able to justify themselves, but to inflict a just and useful punishment on the guilty, and that the honour of the Order be considered. Of this petition you are to make no use in treating with any one, but if you hear it spoken of—as it is very possible that either the minister here or some other may write about it as an appeal, and may wish to lead the King to look on it

[16] The Cardinal Ministers are called Palatines because they are attached to the palace.

as a new act of audacity or seditious proceeding—without showing any particular interest, or appearing to have any orders or commission on the subject—in fine, as a mere matter of conversation—you may show in what this petition consists, and in what submissive terms it is conceived, and, finally, when you have succeeded in exciting some feelings of clemency, go on to show from yourself *en passant* that without any prejudice to the Brief, obtained by the wise vigilance of his Majesty, the carrying it into execution with all possible charity must contribute much to the happy success and usefulness of the Visitation to the glory of the King and the reputation of an Order which has generally done great good, and has earned great merits in the whole Catholic Church.

His Holiness has also noticed the decree published by Cardinal Saldanha on June 5, forbidding the Fathers to exercise commerce. And although what is there prescribed is according to the sacred canons, notwithstanding, as this decree was printed on May 28, and the Visitation was only opened on the 31st, the crime is asserted before it was juridically proved, in such a manner that the publication of the decree before the prescribed delivery of the books, shows clearly that the Jesuits have been condemned before being heard, and before the proof of the supposed crime of practising commerce could be gathered from the exhibition of the said books. Wherefore it is the duty of the Nuncio to satisfy himself and give notice whether the points brought forward in the same decree have been afterwards proved.

With respect to the suspension of the same religious from confessing and preaching by the Cardinal Patriarch Manuel of illustrious memory, since his death has prevented us from learning his motives from himself, and since, as we have understood, neither the Cardinal Visitor nor the Suffragan Vicar-General had been consulted on the point, and as now, on account of the promotion of Cardinal Saldanha to the patriarchate, both offices are united in one person, your Excellency might with your usual tact take advantage of such occasions as shall present themselves, but always by way of private conversation, to suggest that as it is a question of a large number living in several houses in the city and patriarchate or diocese, he might, without any further declaration or public act, rehabilitate some of those who are found innocent and free from the faults of which it has been pretended that they are guilty, as in this manner both the terms of the edict and the honour of the Order will be saved.

Finally, your prudence will lead you to make no use of what I have written except where it can be of service, and to write to me what effect it has, which with your exactness and experience, you will be able to gather in detail according to the circumstances and the state of the business, without, however, in any way compromising your office, a thing which will not be difficult, as it is impossible to believe that a delegate could wish to make mystery of his acts or the investigations he is making, with the minister of his chief.

We have here then an official declaration of the Cardinal Secretary of State, that the Society had been condemned unheard. The memorial of the Father General is defended, and, though out of respect for the deceased Patriarch, no disapprobation of his conduct is expressed, the means suggested to rehabilitate the Fathers sufficiently show what was thought of his act by the Holy See.

The *Reflections* were shortly followed by another volume, purporting to be printed at Genoa *cum licentia superiorum*, but really printed in Rome, and entitled *Appendix to the Reflections of a Portuguese.* It is a volume of three hundred pages of the same character as the other, containing amongst other things a chronological table of acts of disobedience of the Society to no less than twenty Popes, from Paul IV. to Benedict XIV. But it does not explain the strange circumstance that every one of these Popes had loaded the Society with his praises, not only for the holiness of its Institute, but for the conduct of its members. Great use is made of a letter of complaint written by the Secretary of the Propaganda to the General, but the fact that the General had completely satisfied the Sacred Congregation by his answer, and, thus explained every difficulty, was entirely passed over. This was followed by another work, entitled *Supplement to the Reflections*, and finally by a fourth, entitled *Summary of Documents cited in the above Works.* The reader already knows what is to be understood by *documents* in the mouths of these men. The first volume, which alone is in my hands, consists simply of letters of General Mathias de Angelis, Prefect of Potosi, which are of no higher authority than their writer, of whom it is enough to say that he belonged

to the party of Don Bernardino de Cardenas, whom he calls a holy prelate, regarding whom enough has been said to show what value is to be attached to such authority.

It is not necessary here to remind the reader who were these men who were so sensitive as to the obedience due to the Holy See. They were the agents of the Jansenists, whom nine hundred Bulls, Briefs, and decrees of the Sacred Congregations were insufficient to reduce to obedience.[17] It will readily be supposed that the celebrated question of the Chinese rites afforded matter for attack, and was freely employed in the present case. It is not my business to give a history of this controversy. It would need a volume to do so. But as the question is taken up by every new calumniator of the Society, and the author of the *Reflections* cites the great authority of Benedict XIV. against us, a few words are necessary. It is well known that the Chinese have from time immemorial been in the habit of celebrating the memory of Confucius, and the anniversaries of their ancestors, with prostrations, offerings of gifts, and other ceremonies which in outward appearance at least seemed to be acts of religious worship. On the other hand, it was observed that several of these ceremonies were practised by them on occasions in which it was quite certain that no worship was intended. And in addition to this, the most learned men of the country constantly maintained that the ceremonies in question were purely of a civil character. It was evident then that careful examination was necessary before a conclusion could be formed as to their true nature. The question was of the highest importance, as a hasty condemnation of what might after all be only a civil ceremony, would have shut the avenues of the faith to countless souls otherwise well disposed for the truth. The Fathers of the Society, who were long the only missioners in the country, brought to the examination, not only an ardent zeal for the propagation of the faith, but a consummate knowledge of the language and

[17] This number includes those against Baianism. See *Compendio Storico-Cronologico.* Del Conte di Mozzo. Fulgino, 1792 ; vol. i. p. 89.

customs of the country. 'Matthew Ricci,' says Bartoli,[18] 'possessed a knowledge of Chinese literature never equalled by a foreigner, and rarely surpassed by a native of the country. The holiness of his life renders it impossible to suspect that he could voluntarily have encouraged superstition; and yet he was convinced of the lawfulness of these ceremonies. So also, at a later period, was Gregorio Lopez, of the Order of St. Dominic, titular Bishop of Pekin, a man of great virtue and experience in the Chinese missions, who wrote to this effect to the Propaganda on July 11, 1684. In the year 1628 the most experienced of the Fathers held a Council to determine the course to be adopted, and agreed to what extent the rites were to be permitted, but the arrival of new missioners of other Orders in 1631 again opened the question. Father Moralez, of the Order of St. Dominic, appealed to the Holy See, and on September 12, 1645, Innocent X. forbade the rites according to the exposition made by him, until the Holy See, on further information, should decide the question: but on explanations received from Father Martini, of the Society of Jesus, who came to Rome for the purpose, Alexander VII., on March 23, 1656, allowed them to be practised on condition of a declaration that nothing superstitious was intended; and Clement IX., November 20, 1669, declared that both decrees were to remain in force according to the different statements of the facts. Things were in this state when on March 26, 1693, Charles Maigrot, Vicar-Apostolic of Fo-Kien, issued a decree in which he condemned, *donec aliter ab Apostolica Sede decretum fuerit*, several practices on which the controversy had fallen. These were chiefly, the invocation of God under the Chinese name *Tien* (Heaven), and the honours annually paid to Confucius and deceased ancestors. At the same time he declared that the statements made to Alexander VII. by Father Martini were false, and that the Chinese books read in the schools were full of superstitions; but, aware of the weakness of his act, for he had here exceeded his powers, he despatched an agent to Rome to obtain

[18] Opera, vol. xv.; *Asia*, vol. i. p. 116, Marietti.

the sanction of the Holy See for what he had done.[19] But in the very decree in which he condemns what the Jesuits had allowed, he bears high testimony to their submission to superiors. On November 20, 1704, Clement XI. confirmed the condemnation of Maigrot by a decree of the Inquisition, but shows clearly that he does so only on the supposition of the exactness of his exposition. Thus we read—'If by these words (*King Tien*—Worship Heaven) is signified the material and visible heaven, or any power attributed to it, . . . the missioners are to abstain from their use;'[20] again—'Supposing that the Chinese books contain atheism and various superstitions, as is said in the decree of the Bishop of Conon (Maigrot), his admonition is not only useful but necessary;' and with respect to his assertion that the statements made to Alexander VII. were incorrect, the Holy Father declines to give an answer, 'that the Holy See may not depart from the practice which from ancient custom it has hitherto observed in similar Chinese controversies, that is, of always giving the true answer to the question as it is proposed at the time, though the exposition of the case may vary, but of never pronouncing as to the truth or falsehood of the exposition made.'[21] 'Finally,' the Sacred Congregation adds, 'we must applaud the clause added at the end of the decree (of Mgr. Maigrot), in which it is said that those missioners are not to be blamed who up to this time have thought it right to follow a practice different from what is prescribed in the decree; as it must not appear strange that, in a matter which

[19] Borgianelli, *Gesuitofobia*, vol. i. p. 121.

[20] *Super primo articulo*, ad secundum. 'Si enim illis vocibus . . . non nisi cœlum corporeum et visibile, vel quædam cœli virtus eidem cœlo insita designatur . . . abstinere ab eis prorsus debent missionarii.'

[21] *Super septimo articulo.* 'Præsupposito quod Sinici libri atheismum et diversas superstitiones contineant, prout in mandato Domini Episcopi Cononensis dicitur,' &c.

Super quinto articulo, ad tertium. 'Ne alias Apostolica sedes ab eo, quem, in ejusmodi controversiis Sinicis, hactenus tenuit, antiquo more recedere cogatur; quo nimirum, ad ea quæ sibi pro tempore, tametsi diversimode exposita fuerunt, responsa quidem veritatis semper dare, nunquam vero supra expositorum hujusmodi veritate, seu falsitate pronunciare consuevit.'

has been so long disputed, and with regard to which the Apostolic See has up to this time given different answers according to the various statements of the case which have been made to it, all should not agree in a common sentiment. Hence it will have to be the care of the Patriarch of Antioch and others, to whom the execution of the decisions of the Holy See is intrusted, to see that every appearance and breath of pagan superstition, according to the warning of Tertullian, be far removed, and at the same time to secure the honour and reputation of the evangelical labourers who are giving their toil to the vineyard of the Lord with so much diligence and energy, who before the aforesaid doubts were removed by the usual care and impartiality of the Holy See, were of different sentiments, so that they be not accused of being supporters of idolatry, especially as they declare that they have in reality never permitted many of those practices which, it has been decided, are not to be permitted to Christians; nor can it be doubted that now that the cause is ended they will follow the commands of the Holy See with the humility and obedience which are due.'[22]

It is quite evident then that up to this date the Holy See had no fault to find with the missioners of the Society with respect to the Chinese rites, though calumnious tongues were busy raising Europe with outcries against the idolatry and disobedience of the Jesuits. Thus the declamation of Arnauld, and the pious indignation of Bottari have no place here. On April 5, 1705, Cardinal Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, arrived at Canton in the capacity of Delegate Apostolic and Visitor of China. The Fathers of the Society gave him every assistance in their power, procured for him a safe conduct to Pekin, and spoke so highly of his dignity to the Emperor that he ordered special honours to be paid him wherever he went. But Kang Hi was so indignant that he should pretend, as the Emperor expressed it, to understand the meaning of Chinese words and practices better than the learned men of the country, notwithstanding the ignorance of the language in

[22] *Acta causæ rituum seu ceremoniarum Sinensium.* Venetiis, 1709; p. 51, seq.

other respects which he unfortunately displayed, that after the first interview he ordered him to leave Pekin. The Cardinal, instead of taking steps to conciliate his anger, as those who knew the character of the monarch advised him, considered that his dignity was at stake, and left the capital on August 28, after having been little more than four months in the country. The failure of this enterprize was attributed by the enemies of the Society, and indeed by De Tournon himself, to a want of cooperation on their part. But the Bishop of Ascalon, and Vicar-Apostolic of Kiang Si, of the Order of St. Augustine, in a letter to the King of Spain, entirely vindicated the Fathers from the charge, and attributed the whole failure to his own preconceived judgment against the missioners, a prejudice which he did not conceal even in the presence of the Emperor himself. The same prelate, in a letter to the Propaganda, strongly advocates the view taken by the Society, and begs the Congregation not to be in a hurry to decide the question, as the ruin of the whole Chinese mission might be the consequence.[23] On his return to Nankin, though his opportunities of judging the question had been so scanty, De Tournon published a decree, in which he absolutely condemned the honour paid to Confucius, the character of which the Sacred Congregation had refused to decide, but on which it had empowered him to pronounce after 'having taken the opinions of the bishops, vicars-apostolic, and most experienced missioners of those parts.'[24] This it is most unfortunate he did not do. He threw himself into the hands of the party opposed to these rites and listened only to them. The effect of this decree was that the missioners, not of the Society alone, but of every other Order then labouring in China, foreseeing from the temper in which the Emperor then was, that the greatest evils might ensue, even to the extirpation of Christianity in that vast Empire, with almost universal consent appealed to the Holy See against the decision of the Legate.

[23] *Stato presente della Chiesa Ariese*, p 18. 1710.

[24] 'Auditis Episcopis, et Vicariis Apostolicis necnon peritioribus Missionariis illarum Partium' (*Ib. Super sexto articulo*).

Notwithstanding this appeal, the Holy Father, on September 25, 1710, approved the decree of De Tournon, but declared at the same time that he intended to add nothing to the decree of 1704, and had no intention of pronouncing on the truth of the exposition of the case. That the Holy Father saw no disobedience in the conduct of the Society in this matter is evident from the following fact. On November 20, 1711, the Father General of the Society, Michael Angelo Tamburini, moved by the clamours which the Jansenists were everywhere raising against the Society, in affectation of a zeal for the purity and unity of the Church, accompanied by the Assistants and Procurators of the Provinces, presented himself at the feet of his Holiness, to protest 'their constant devotedness, most respectful submission, and blind obedience to whatever decrees have emanated from the Holy See, especially those issued concerning the Chinese rites on November 20, 1704, and September 25, 1710, which decrees the whole Society spontaneously and of its own accord accepts and receives, to be observed and followed exactly as they have been explained and laid open to the Father General in writing, in the name of your Holiness, by the most reverend and illustrious Assessor of the Holy Office, on October 11, 1710, and this firmly and inviolably under the censures and penalties there expressed, without any contradiction, tergiversation, or hesitation, putting aside entirely all colour and pretext of acting otherwise.' The General bears witness that 'this is the voice, this the desire, this the spirit of the whole Society, and that such it will always be, as without doubt it always has been.' The General continues that as no human prudence can prevent the possibility of there being amongst so many some who do not share these sentiments, he declares that if there are any such he repudiates them, and refuses to acknowledge them as genuine sons of the Society. He adds that he makes this protest in the name of the whole Society, and that if he had known words more expressive or more adapted to express these sentiments, he would have used them. To this memorial the following note is appended : 'The most Holy Father received with kind-

ness the above-mentioned General, Assistants of the nations, and Procurators of the provinces of the Society, which he cherishes with paternal affection, and gave permission for the above declaration to be printed and published.'[25]

It is evident, then, that the Holy Father had no complaint against the Society on the score of disobedience, if the General could in this solemn manner protest that the sentiments here expressed had always been those of the Society, and His Holiness could give a formal permission for such a declaration to be published to the world.

On March 19, 1715, the same Pontiff condemned the Rites by the Bull *Ex illa die.* This was the first definitive decree on the question, and the missioners of the Society received it with the most complete submission and exact obedience. But a new source of trouble was in store. The persecution which was now beginning to rage in China, and which threatened to ruin that flourishing Church, induced the Pontiff to send out as Visitor to that country Charles Ambrose Mezobarb, Patriarch of Alexandria. This Prelate arrived at Macao on September 26, 1720, and, through the assistance of the Fathers, though with great risk, reached Pekin in safety before the Emperor was able to forbid it; but Father Laureati, of the Society, was put in irons, and several mandarins were imprisoned in consequence. The Emperor, however, consented to see the Legate, but it was of no use. He found him immoveable. In these circumstances, Mezobarb considered himself authorized to modify the prohibitions of the *Ex illa die*, and granted eight concessions, chiefly with respect to the honour paid to Confucius, regarding which the Sacred Congregation, in its decree of 1704, had refused to pass judgment, and which the Legate himself thought might be admitted. These concessions were made with reserve, and all necessary precautions to ensure prudence in using them; but the Bishop of Pekin, whom it is necessary here to say was not a Jesuit, published them in two successive pastorals. The consequence was that many of the missioners of all Orders believed, and not without reason, that the *Ex illa die* was

[25] Bull. *Luxemburg*, 1727.

withdrawn, and diversity of opinion and confusion again entered the Church of China. Clement XII. condemned the pastorals of the Bishop of Pekin on September 26, 1735, and on July 11, 1742, Benedict XIV. put an end to the contest, and condemned the controverted rites by the celebrated Bull *Ex quo singulari*. Some expressions which occur in this Bull, where the Pontiff speaks of the obstinacy and cavilling of those who resisted the former decision of the Holy See, were at once taken up by the enemies of the Society, as if they were a condemnation of the conduct of its missioners, and the author of the *Reflections* does not fear to introduce the name Jesuits into the text, as though the reference to the Society were evident, and as though there were not at this time missioners of all Orders and of the secular clergy labouring and suffering in China. This imputation was put an end to for all who sought the truth by the words of Benedict XIV. himself in a letter of June 26, 1748, to the Bishop of Coimbra, beginning *Inter gratissimas*, in which, after having dwelt at length on all he had done for the Society ever since he was *in minoribus*, he says, 'What, then, was my astonishment, on hearing from you, venerable Brother, that some are of opinion that we are not well affected towards this Society, and that this suspicion has arisen from no other cause than the Constitutions we have published on the Chinese and Malabaric rites. Our words are general, we neither name nor indicate any person or any class, order, or institute in particular. We have certainly spoken of the disobedient; and if there are any such of the Society, or of the Order of St. Francis, or St. Dominic, or of the secular clergy, all must consider themselves equally compromised and reproved.' And he adds that if he had meant to speak of the Jesuits in particular, he would have had to forbid them to receive novices till they obeyed; and only a few weeks before writing this letter he had said of the Society[26] that its members 'are everywhere held to be the good odour of Christ, and are so in effect;' and as we have already seen, he says in the *Devotam* that for two centuries it has been

[26] *Præclaris* 1748.

governed with as much success as prudence, according to the wise laws of its founder. Could the Sovereign Pontiff have written this of the Society if, as the disciples of the Jansenists and the infidels joined to the creatures of Carvalho would persuade the world, they had for centuries rendered themselves notorious by their disregard of the Bulls of the Pontiffs and the Canons of the Church, and by their scandalous doctrine?

CHAPTER VII.

The Conspiracy.

THE patient and modest submission with which the Society had everywhere received the Visitation, deprived Carvalho of the opportunity he expected of carrying out the extreme measures which he contemplated. He had counted on something that could at least be construed into resistance. This would have given him a pretext for proceeding to the banishment of the Society from the realm, which it was well known was the object of his desires, and this for two principal reasons—to carry out the more easily his design of a national Church, and to replenish the exhausted treasury with the spoils of the Society. An occasion occurred about this time which served his aims perfectly. It has often been related, but the full truth is still veiled with mystery. Certain facts, however, connected with it, are notorious, and with their help and the immediate deductions from them, it is not difficult to present to the reader an account, the truth of which is beyond all doubt, as to the only points which concern my history, of facts which, it can be confidently stated, have no parallel in the history of civilized nations.

The Queen of Spain, sister of Joseph I. of Portugal, dying on August 28 of this year, 1758, the Court of Lisbon went into mourning, and it was announced that according to etiquette the King would receive no visits, but would remain in complete retirement for the period of eight days. On the morning of September 4, a report was spread that the

King was very ill, and had been bled several times. Various stories were told as to the nature of the malady. Amongst other things it was said that he had fallen and hurt his shoulder whilst descending some steps; and, according to the author of the *Anecdotes*, this fall was communicated to the foreign ambassadors, who all hastened to the palace to inquire after the health of the sovereign, and was even stated in the Official Gazette three months after. On the other hand, it is said that a report of an attack on the person of the King, made by one of the Tavoras, was in circulation that very night, and that persons living on the other side of the Tagus knew of it before daylight. Certain it is that a report was very soon spread of a horrible conspiracy to take the life of the King. Still, however, all was uncertainty and mystery. At first the name of the Duke de Aveiro was not mentioned, and no less than eight different places were spoken of as the scene of the attempt. By degrees the story assumed a more definite form, and finally, in the sentence issued on January 12, details were related of deadly quarrels between the families of Tavora and De Aveiro, followed by reconciliations and fast friendships, secret meetings, long interviews, and conspiracies, with the exact places of the three ambushes, the names of the cavaliers engaged in the crime, and many minute circumstances, even to the names and prices of the horses. But nowhere was there a shadow of proof or the deposition of a witness. In the meantime the King was kept in the most impenetrable seclusion. Not only were none of the nobles admitted to visit him; even the Princes of the Blood were permitted to enter the outer room only, and there to express a few words of sympathy, to which the King never answered. Even the Queen was not permitted to see him. Whispering to him through the closed curtains, she used to receive from his Majesty in a faint voice the assurance that he was a little better. For three months the public were kept in perpetual suspense as to his state. One day he was at the point of death, another he was rapidly improving, only to fall back into an alarming condition. Notwithstanding all these rumours of the King's critical position, only one surgeon was allowed to visit him,

and it was a common report that even he was never permitted to see his patient. It is said, however, that on the remonstrance of the nobles, others were called in, but were not introduced beyond the ante-room. Incredible as this may seem, it at least serves to show us the popular opinion as to the nature of the malady. It was, indeed, commonly believed that there was nothing the matter with the King, and at one time this opinion was freely expressed. But the suspicious disappearance of persons who had been rash enough to speak their thoughts boldly was a warning to others what they might expect, and things were allowed to take their course, but with secret forebodings of evil to come when it might be least expected.

By degrees the guilt of the attempted regicide began to attach itself to the Duke de Aveiro. It was said that he had formed a conspiracy to assassinate the King and to place the Prince of Brazil on the throne, in the hopes of holding the reins of government himself. The report was incredible in itself; the members of the royal family were numerous and beloved, and De Aveiro, on account of his haughty character, was no favourite, and could have seen no probability of raising himself to power by such a means. The King had refused his permission for a marriage honourable to his family; but such disappointments do not commonly result in regicide. The Duke was proud, but was not so revengeful as to be guilty of such a madness as this. He simply despised the reports, saying that he defied any one to prove a crime against him, and continued to frequent the palace as before. In ordinary circumstances it would have been difficult to imagine a pretext for including the Jesuits in the supposed plot. They had no connection with the families of Tavora or De Aveiro, and were conscious of having done nothing which could give occasion to doubts as to their allegiance. But they remembered the accusations regarding Paraguay and Oporto, and knew very well that innocence was no safeguard for those who had incurred the resentment of the Minister; and it was not less well known that they and the families of De Aveiro and Tavora were involved in the common misfortune of being obstacles to his designs. Nor were they alone in their

fears. When the Bishop of Algarve heard of the conspiracy he exclaimed, 'Alas, poor Jesuits, they are ruined!' By degrees it began to be whispered about that the Jesuits were the true authors of the plot.

In this way things went on till about the end of November. The impenetrable mystery in which the whole case was shrouded alone suffices to show a design very different from that of letting true justice take its course. There can be no doubt now that Carvalho needed this delay in order to enable him to mature his plans, so as to make more show of a case, to obtain the sanction of the King to the dreadful deed of blood he was contemplating, and to show some pretence of having taken all that time to investigate the various ramifications of the plot. The fact is, no depositions whatever were received, nor were any steps taken to indicate that a careful examination, such as the case required, was in course. One piece of evidence was indeed brought forward. The body of a woman had been discovered somewhere on the lands of De Aveiro. No notice was taken of this at the time; but after the Duke had been seized, the Minister caused the report to be spread that she had been a servant in the Duke's family, and had gone by accident into the room where the conspirators had met to concert their plans, and that the Duke, to be more sure of his secret, made away with her. It is added that a lover of this woman, who lay concealed in the room at the time, afterwards recognized the body. This man received a handsome reward for his declaration. It is a lame story, and the informer might as well have given details of the meeting.[1] It is needless to say that no one believed it.

Meantime the Jesuits continued in the most anxious suspense. Forbidden to exercise the functions of the sacred ministry, they redoubled their prayers that God would, if it pleased Him, avert the storm which many indications told them was near. The Visitor had suspended his labours, the reform having been confined to the single decree of declaration of guilt spoken of above, and a series of vexatious acts, serving

[1] *Anecdotas*, vol. i. p. 183.

only to prove more perfectly the patience and resignation of the Fathers. At the end of November he sent an order to the Provincial to make no further changes among his subjects without his permission. But, the Provincial having represented that the extension of such an order to the whole of Portugal increased very much the difficulty of his government, his Eminence restricted the command to the three houses of Lisbon, but required that he should be informed of the changes that might be thought necessary. It is not difficult to understand the object of this order. Father Malagrida was at that time at Setubal, whither he had been banished. On December 11, the Cardinal sent a special messenger to this place with a letter ordering the Father to repair to the College of St. Antony in the capital without delay, and there to await orders. The messenger had orders to return with the Father, and not to lose sight of him. He reached Lisbon the same night, and at once reported himself to the Cardinal. About this time the report was again circulated that the King was in great danger, and public prayers were ordered for his safety. The public looked on this as a cloak of some sinister design and as an insult to religion, and received the announcement with indifference and disgust. It was generally known that, whatever was the case before, the King was then in perfect health.

At length the veil was rent. The period of suspense and terrible tension, which had now lasted above three months, came suddenly to an end, and gave place to a far more dreadful certainty. The Minister had so worked on the weak mind of the King as to persuade him that he had been the victim of a foul conspiracy, headed by the Duke de Aveiro and the Marquis of Tavora, and had at length secured his authority to chastise the delinquents according to his discretion. On the night between the 12th and 13th of December, the houses of the various members of these families were suddenly surrounded with troops,[2] and these nobles, with many of their servants and attendants, were seized and conducted to the new prisons at

[2] The author of the Life of Pombal says, on the morning of the 13th. It was probably before daylight. I have followed the author of the *Anecdotes.*

Belem. The male members of this family taken prisoners were seven in number—Don Francisco de Assis, Marquis of Tavora, his two sons, Don Louis and Don Joseph Mary, his two brothers, Don Manuel and Don Joseph Mary, and his two sons-in-law, the Count of Atouguia and the Marquis da Lorna. The Marquis himself had gone to visit his sister, the Countess of Riveira, and was with her when an attendant arrived in breathless haste to tell him that his palace had been surrounded with soldiers and his family carried off to prison. Conscious of his innocence, he at once determined not to fly, and hastened to the royal palace to protest his fidelity to the King in person. He was there confronted by Carvalho, who instead of conducting him to the King, charged him with treason, made him deliver up his sword, and sent him under a strong guard to the same prison as the other noblemen. The Marchioness was conducted publicly through the streets, scarcely decently clothed, to a convent of Augustinian nuns, where she was closely confined. The fate of these noble persons is too well known. Of the servants, who were seized at the same time, nothing more was ever known from the day the dungeon closed on them. Dead men tell no tales, whether of guilt or of innocence, and the holocaust to the Minister's vengeance was rich enough without the minor victims. No doubt, like many others, they perished in the obscurity of the dungeon. Through a mistake of Carvalho himself, the Duke de Aveiro was not seized till the next day, when a body of horsemen was sent to his country house to make him prisoner. The fact that the Duke, who according to the sentence was the chief criminal and head of the conspiracy, was simply forgotten by Carvalho himself in his orders for the apprehension of the victims, is suggestive of much reflection. Could this have happened had there been a well-grounded suspicion that he was at the head of a plot to commit regicide? The dust from the horses' feet excited the Duke's suspicion as he sat with his secretary on a terrace, but he refused to effect his escape, and was conducted to prison. These prisons were fetid stalls in which wild beasts had formerly been kept, until the time of the earthquake, when

they were killed for fear of their escaping; and here these proud nobles were cast in chains, with no bed but a heap of straw, and no food but the bread of felons. The ladies of their families were shut up in convents, the young Marchioness, Doña Johanna Tavora, alone being treated with such exceptional consideration as to show that her arrest was only intended to give a pretext for that of the others.

Besides the members of these noble families, many other persons were seized, but none more worthy of notice than the Count de Obidos and the Fiscal Advocate of the Crown, Antony de Costa Freire. The only cause that could be assigned for the imprisonment of the first was the fact that he was known to have asserted that there was no conspiracy against the King at all, and the great esteem in which he was held by his Majesty gave reason for the fear that through his means the whole design of Carvalho might be deranged. The other was looked on as the first legal authority in the kingdom, and it was even said that in all the Courts of Europe there was no one superior to him, so much so that the King used often to say to him, 'Antony, you are the glory of my Crown.' The author of the Life of Carvalho tells us that in a matter of such gravity the Minister felt that he could not avoid placing the examination of the accused in his hands, trusting to his own authority to obtain, even from a man of his known integrity, a decision according to his own wishes. As might have been expected from a man of his character, Costa Freire declared them all innocent. Such was the anger of Carvalho, that neither his exalted character nor the esteem of the King could save him from the dungeon, where he closed his life.[3] As yet no arrests were made amongst the members of the Society. But on the afternoon of the 12th, the three houses in Lisbon were surrounded with troops and no one was permitted to enter or to leave them, and two days after a most careful examination was made of every part of the premises in search for arms or treasures, but nothing of the kind being found, the agents satisfied themselves with seizing all the private papers which each one had

[3] *Vita*, vol. ii. p. 36.

in his room. These were carried off to furnish, if so it might be, ground of accusation against them. They submitted in silence, trusting only in God for help in the still graver trials which they knew were at hand. In the meantime terror spread far and wide. Guards were placed at the frontiers of the kingdom to hinder the escape of suspected persons, and ships were forbidden to leave the various ports without royal licence. It was like a state of siege, which was the more terrible as the cause was still a mystery, and no one knew where it would end. According to the author of the *Anecdotes*, nothing was seen but soldiers, nothing was heard but drums, nothing spoken of but prisons.

On the following day, December 13, appeared a decree signed by the King, and bearing the date of December 9. In this decree, after enlarging on the affection that had always existed between the sovereigns of Portugal and their subjects, the King proceeds to express his consequent horror at the 'execrable perfidy which neither the charms of virtue, nor the shame of the most horrible of crimes, nor the terrible weight of chastisement which must attend the detestable conspiracy, nor zeal for the public good, nor sentiments of honour, could restrain.' He then relates that certain wretches had, 'with diabolical malice, formed a sacrilegious and abominable conspiracy,' having first with mysterious air seduced the minds of the simple by statements as to the shortness of his life, even fixing the month of September as the limit; and having thus maliciously prepared the minds of the people, had dared to make the execrable attempt at eleven o'clock on the night of September 3, as he was driving out of the gate Do Meyo to cross the little square which separates it from the palace. 'Near this gate,' he continues, 'three cavaliers were concealed, who with detestable and horrible treason fired three shots at our carriage, and though one missed fire, the other two took such effect, as to penetrate the carriage and make two holes so large that it is impossible to understand how our royal person escaped death. The serious wounds which we received would certainly have produced death if the Omnipotent had not pre-

served us by a miracle.' He then declares 'that the most sacred rights of the Divine, natural, and civil law, as well as those of the country, would be horribly violated if the authors of this barbarous and sacrilegious conspiracy were not discovered. He then promises the rank of nobility to every plebeian, and elevation in rank to every noble, who will lead to the apprehension of the malefactors, besides other rewards to be granted according to circumstances, he grants pardon to all accomplices who will turn King's evidence, and gives full powers to all magistrates to arrest and bring to justice whoever might be guilty of so great a crime.

The first thing that strikes us here is that before the issue of this decree calling for the discovery of the conspirators, all the nobles whom it was intended to ruin were already in prison. This indecent haste, which rendered all pretence of justice too transparent a mockery, was no doubt intended as a precaution lest they should escape by flight. With the Jesuits this was otherwise provided for. Their houses were strictly guarded by soldiers, and, lest this might not suffice, they received an order from the Cardinal Visitor forbidding them under mortal sin to leave their colleges; and what is still more significative, as we have already seen, Father Malagrida had been summoned to Lisbon, to be in readiness to meet his fate. Another circumstance too strange not to be indicative of further mystery, and therefore suggestive of foul play, was the lapse of more than three months between the time of the supposed crime and the first appeal to the loyalty of the people for the discovery of the assassins. This is so incomprehensible in the supposition of any attempt on the life of the King at all, that contemporary writers, after reviewing all that had transpired regarding this mysterious affair, concluded that the whole was a fabrication from beginning to end, and that no shots were ever fired at the carriage at all. The author of the *Anecdotes*, a work, as has been said, declared authentic by authority of Queen Mary, who wrote after the publication of the Life of Carvalho, considers this to have been demonstrated. The author of the Life referred to gives a different explanation, which appears

to have great probability; and the discrepancies as to the places of ambush and the absence of any report of firearms in the neighbourhood of the gate spoken of by the King, are sufficiently accounted for on the supposition that the scene of the event was intentionally misplaced through a desire to conceal the real object of the King's nocturnal drive. The story given in this book runs as follows.

There was at that time at the Court of Portugal a gentleman named Peter Texeira, whom the King honoured with his special friendship. This man knew so well how to flatter the weaknesses of his sovereign, that the King received him to his most intimate confidence, and used even to take him with him at night when he left the palace for purposes which no one who respected his own name would confide to another. It happened that a quarrel arose between Texeira and the Duke de Aveiro, who, as chief Major Domo of the palace, had authority over all the attendants of the King. On this occasion the Duke was only restrained from using his sword by the remembrance that the penalty of treason was attached to the shedding of blood within the precincts of the palace, but he vowed to be revenged. The usual hour for the despatch of business with the Secretaries of State was about an hour before midnight. Carvalho used to enter the King's chamber and ask if it was his pleasure to receive the secretaries. On the nights in which the King intended to go out, he used to tell his chief minister to discharge them, after which Carvalho used to enter the room and lock the door, every one in the palace supposing that the King was closeted with his Minister in the despatch of important business of State. Instead of this, the King would descend by a private stairs to a carriage, and after being absent for two or three hours, would return by the same stairs to his room, where he used to find Carvalho waiting for his return. The Minister used to take these occasions to present to the King some decree which he had prepared, to which the King would often put his name without even reading the contents. The only persons who knew the nights on which the King intended to pay his visits were Carvalho, Texeira,

and one chamberlain. It is said that on the night in question, not to give occasion to remarks which might be made on account of his leaving the palace during the week of mourning for the death of his sister, he made use of Texeira's carriage, and took him with him to the house of the young Marquis of Tavora, whose wife, Doña Joanna, daughter of the Count de Albor, was one of his principal favourites. As they were returning they were fired at, near the Arch of Carvallão, by three persons, supposed to be the Duke de Aveiro and two attendants. The first piece, which was aimed at the postilion, missed fire, but the two others took effect, penetrating through the back of the carriage and wounding the King in the right shoulder or arm. Immediately on hearing the report the postilion exclaimed, 'What are you doing? the King is in the carriage,' upon which the assailants fled with all speed. The arch here spoken of lies near the Tagus, and in a street leading directly to the palace of the Marquis of Tavora, and not far from the house of the Marquis Angeya, to which the King was immediately taken to have his wound dressed. The gate Do Meyo, of which mention is made in the decree of December 9, lay on the road to the palace of Belem, and nowhere near the house to which the King was taken. It is moreover said that the shots were distinctly heard in the neighbourhood of the Arch of Carvallão, and that the King's unexpected arrival at the house of the Marquis was no secret in Lisbon.[4]

We have here an intelligible story which sufficiently accounts for all that is known to have happened, and is perfectly in conformity with all the circumstances. According to it, there was no intention to fire at the King at all, and this is antecedently in every way probable. There was no feeling against him which could have produced a conspiracy, and if there had been, there was nothing to be gained by taking his life. Had there been a design to rescue the kingdom from the tyranny under which it was groaning, this might have been done in a much more direct manner, one much less shocking to every good feeling than attempting the life of the sovereign.

[4] See *Vita di Sebastiano Giuseppe Carvalho*, ii. p. 8.

Had Carvalho been the object motives could have been found in plenty; but the death of the King would have been a round about and by no means secure way of putting aside an objectionable Minister. Independently of this, it would have been difficult for the Duke to know that the King would be out that night, when the time of solemn mourning and retirement was only half expired, much less the direction he would take. The Duke de Aveiro had vowed vengeance against Texeira. It was easy for him to find out that his carriage was out that night, and the announcement that the King was within was quite sufficient to put the assassins to a precipitate flight instead of proceeding to the completion of their work with their swords or pistols, as was natural if his death had been their design. There is no use in following this argument further. It is enough for my purpose to point out that there is no sign that the Jesuits formed part of a conspiracy to take the life of the King. Not only will this be evident to the reader, but it will be abundantly proved when we come to consider the evidence on which alone the charge rested, that, whatever may be said about the attack or the reality of the wounds said to have been received by the King, there never was really any conspiracy at all. The young Marquis of Tavora had indeed grave reason for complaint on account of the King's treatment of his wife, but this was not a likely matter for a conspiracy such as was spoken of, nor was it mentioned among the causes that led to it. The absence of any real plot was moreover practically acknowledged on the accession of Mary by the official declaration of the innocence of all who had been victims of the savage cruelty of Carvalho on this occasion. But it is better to discuss the case as it was presented by the Minister in the plenitude of his despotism.

Not being able, as has been seen, to obtain his object by means of the Fiscal of the Crown, Carvalho determined to undertake the trial, or more correctly to give judgment without trial himself. He accordingly shut himself up in his cabinet, and availing himself of the small knowledge of law acquired during his brief studies at Coimbra, produced a sentence which

would have been the object of ridicule throughout Europe had not the terrible barbarities that followed it sickened every heart and filled every breast with indignant horror. This sentence he presented to the tribunal of *Inconfidenza*, a new tribunal established by himself for the trial of treason, and called on the judges to approve it with their signatures. These men, whose sense of justice was not yet quite dead, answered that it was impossible to do this without seeing the proofs on which the condemnation was based. 'Proofs!' exclaimed the Minister, 'they are here in my hands, and are only too convincing; you have only to determine the punishment that is due.' Influenced by fear of the Minister's anger, these men, with the exception of one, John Alvarez Bacalao, who deserves eternal honour for his courage in alone refusing to disgrace his name by giving it to so great an injustice, all signed the infamous document.

There was still another formality which it was necessary to fulfil in order to have the appearance of law. By the laws of Portugal no noble of the kingdom could be put to death[5] unless three of his peers signed the sentence. Carvalho was not at a loss to meet even this difficulty. Overlooking the indecency of the same person being at the same time accuser and judge, he constituted a tribunal of which he himself was president, and the members Don Joachim de Costa Corte Real—whom he had chosen Secretary of State for the navy in place of the upright and illustrious Diego Mendoza Corte Real—and Don Luiz da Cunha, his own Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, both men chosen for the offices they held, for their fitness and readiness to second any project of their master. This selection being made, there was no further obstacle to the carrying out of his designs to their utmost barbarity. Meantime every effort was made to implicate the Jesuits in the supposed conspiracy. The letters seized in the Colleges were examined without result, and then sent back to the Fathers. The College of Evora was entered forcibly by masked men, who carried away all the papers they could find. It was hoped that some would draw

[5] *Vita*, vol. ii. p. 38.

suspicion on themselves by trying to escape, and for this purpose, while the public entrance to the houses was guarded, care was taken to leave the side doors open. Reports were spread that gallows were going to be erected in front of the College of Lisbon, that the building would be burned over their heads, and that those who escaped these two dangers were to be confined in subterranean dungeons. The Nuncio, who had received no information previous to this incarceration of the Fathers in their houses, asked the Minister what was the object of it. He answered that it was to save them from being massacred by the people, who, he said, suspected them of having had a part in the attempt on the King's life, though nothing is more certain than that the Fathers were held in the highest estimation, and that such a thought never entered the mind of any one till it was declared to be a fact by the Minister. On December 23 a strict search was made in the College for arms and ammunition. The chief magistrates of the city, with officers and soldiers, entered the building with great parade of formality, and searched every corner from the roof to the cellars. The cupboards of the pantry, the library, the spandrels of the vaulting, the courtyards and gardens, were all diligently examined. It had been given out that arms for five thousand men were concealed there. As was probably foreseen, nothing that could excite the smallest suspicion was discovered; but the object was gained of discrediting the Society amongst the simple, and preparing their minds for the announcement of complicity that was to follow. At the same time the other houses of the Society in Lisbon were searched in the same manner, and the next day the country houses of the different communities went through the same ordeal. It was the policy of Carvalho to keep the Fathers constantly harassed with vexations and fears, in the hopes of breaking their constancy and forcing them into some act of violation of the law. In this he was disappointed: throughout the whole terrible trial no one gave way even to a word that could be justly turned against them.

On Christmas Day the Provincial thought he ought to visit

the Cardinal, and the officer of the guard allowed him to pass. Saldanha refused to see him, and sent word by a page that he was astonished to hear that he had presumed to leave the College. It was in vain the Father represented that he had not considered the order to include a visit from himself to his Eminence. He was told to return at once to the College, and there to expect further orders: in fact the sentinels received orders to allow no one to pass on any account, unless he was furnished with a written order from the Cardinal. On the feast of Holy Innocents, Malagrida was sent for to the Cardinal's palace. He was conducted thither by an escort of soldiers. Still he was not admitted to an audience, but was sent on to the residence of Carvalho, who was waiting for him. Carvalho asked him for the letter he had written to the King, warning him of his danger. It was said that such a letter had been found amongst his papers. This was not correct. He had had a presentiment of some evil to happen to the King, and wrote to the Queen-mother to tell her of it; but of this I shall speak later. It is said that Malagrida insisted on seeing the King, as he had information of great importance to communicate. He was told that in the present state of his Majesty it was impossible, but he should see him when he had recovered. After this he was sent back under the same escort to the College.

Meantime the report was spread abroad that the prisoners were to be executed, and the preparations that were being made soon showed the truth of the rumours. Great precautions were taken to prevent a rising of the people, of which there was no small danger, as the Tavoras were in great esteem. New regiments were brought from distant parts of the kingdom into the city, while those whose officers were known to be favourable to the accused were sent elsewhere; and lest the popular commotion in the city might be too great, it was determined to execute the deed of blood at Belem. And there within sight of the windows of the helpless, fear-ridden King, was accomplished the most barbarous and wanton act of cruelty and vengeance that civilized nations have ever known under the pretence of law. On January 11, the tribunal

entitled *De Consciencia e das Ordens*, issued a sentence degrading the Duke de Aveiro, the Marquis de Tavora, and the Count de Atouguia from the military orders of which they were members, and handing them over to the secular power. Twenty-four hours were given the accused to defend themselves; but their counsel was selected for them by the Minister, and even he was not permitted to see his clients. The consequence was that no trial ever took place, nor was the deposition of a single witness produced. The unfortunate victims had been questioned on the rack, in hopes of forcing from them disclosures that would justify the cruelties about to be committed. It is said that Tavora and Atouguia constantly denied any knowledge of the conspiracy, but that de Aveiro, overcome by the torments, acknowledged himself to be guilty, and even accused the others and the Jesuits as accomplices. Whatever may have been this confession, it is evident it was considered to be of little value even by the enemies of the Society, for it was never produced at a time when any sign of proof would have been invaluable to the Minister to help him to wipe away the stain of so horrible an injustice. Not until eight years after, when the celebrated *Chronological Deduction* was published—a work surpassing all others, as we shall see later, for shameless calumnies—was a pretended confession of the Duke de Aveiro given to the world; but the manifest falsehoods with which the book was filled prevented its acquiring any credit. It appears however that some admission was extorted from the Duke in the agony of the racking, for when in the following reign the sentence pretending to justify this bloody deed was cancelled, and the victims declared innocent, an officer deposed on oath that the Duke had assured him that he had only accused the nobles and the Jesuits through the violence of torments; that he always considered them all innocent, as he himself was; that he had begged to be allowed to make a retractation, but was not listened to, and had no resource left but to ask all he could, and in particular his confessor, to publish his retractation as widely as possible.[6]

[6] *Anecdotas*, vol. i. p. 162, note.

All this time the Jesuits were kept in the anguish of the most terrible suspense. They knew the preparations for slaughter that were being made. They were freely allowed to hear the suspicion in which it was pretended that they were held; but yet no steps had been taken beyond placing the guard upon the Colleges and the summoning of Malagrida to Lisbon. At length it seemed that their worst fears were to be realized. During the night between the 11th and 12th of January, officers of justice, attended by a squadron of cavalry, appeared at the gate of the College and conducted to prison Father Joseph Henriquez, the Provincial, Gabriel Malagrida, John Alexander Souza, Hyacinth da Costa, Joseph Perdigaõ, Ignatius Soares, Joseph Moreira, John de Mattos, Timothy de Oliveira, and Francis Eduardo. Da Costa was the friend of the Infant Don Pedro, brother of the King. He was put to the torture to force from him some confession which could implicate the Prince, but he bore the rack with unshaken constancy. Malagrida, de Mattos, and John Alexander Souza were veteran missioners, white with age, who had spent the best part of their lives among the savages of Paraguay and Brazil; but the Marchioness of Tavora had made the Spiritual Exercises under Malagrida, and de Mattos was connected with the family of Ribeira, whilst John Alexander Souza had made the voyage from the Indies in the same vessel as the family of Tavora. These were, as far as can be ascertained, the sources of suspicion; these the grounds of arrest and imprisonment of these Fathers. They were never tried nor confronted with witnesses. Nor even was any testimony ever published against them; and yet in the sentence they are declared to be accomplices and chiefs of the conspiracy. So true is this that when, on the accession of Mary, more than twenty years after, the prison vaults of St. Julian gave back to life the living skeletons which had been so long immured in their dark recesses, the Assistant of the Society for the Portuguese dominions, 'at the age of eighty-one, and about to appear before the tribunal of Divine Justice,' laid before his sovereign his complaint, that his brethren had been accused and condemned without being ever examined, and

without being allowed the opportunity of alleging a single argument in their defence. 'All,' he says, 'who have been liberated from prison, agree upon this, all bear a common testimony that, during the whole period of their imprisonment, they were never once questioned by any authority;' and he not only protests the innocence of the body, but declares that both he and all the exiled Jesuits are ready to endure sufferings far more rigorous than any they have hitherto borne, if one single individual amongst the accused can be proved to have committed the smallest fault against the State; and for their innocence he appeals to the rigorous trials which had been held in Rome, the results of which were to render their innocence evident. It is to these trials that Cardinal Calino refers when he reminds the Pontiff Pius VI. 'what labours, what diligence, what arts, what cavils, had been employed to find some intrinsic evil or vestige of evil which could be exhibited to the world stupified at their suppression, and yet, as your knowledge, Holy Father, and mine testify, nothing whatever was found.'[7]

In the same night the Marchioness Doña Eleonora de Tavora was led on foot from the convent where she had been imprisoned, guarded by soldiers, to Carvalho's new dungeons, and there, without having ever been examined or knowing her accuser (Carvalho himself was the only one), heard the sentence of death which had been passed against her. She was not allowed to see her husband or children, and it was even asserted[8] that neither she nor the other prisoners, with the exception of the Duke, were allowed the benefit of a confessor before their execution. Many religious were forced to be present at the last scene, but it was only to give an appearance of religion to deceive the people. On January 12 the celebrated sentence was published. Before remarking on this document, which excited the contempt and horror of Europe, I shall complete the narrative by briefly following these victims of vengeance to the end. The scaffold was

[7] *Voto del Card. Calino sulla causa del Palafox;* Böero, *Osservazioni sopra l'istoria di Theiner.* Monza, 1854, vol. ii. p. 262.

[8] *Anecdotas,* vol. i. p. 163.

erected in the square of Belem, and long before daylight on the morning of January 13 an immense multitude thronged the square and occupied every position from which a sight could be had of the fatal spot. The shores of the Tagus were lined with boats filled with spectators whom wonder and curiosity attracted to a spectacle which as yet they could hardly believe, schooled as they already were to the sight of deeds of vengeance. The first to mount the scaffold was the Marchioness Doña Eleonora de Tavora. She advanced with a firm step between two religious, with her eyes fixed on a crucifix, and the noble bearing and modest courage of this virtuous lady, against whom no word of evil report had ever been breathed, so moved that vast crowd to compassion and respect, that tears and sighs burst forth on all sides at the sight of a lady of her birth and character exhibited thus in the undress of her private chamber—the first victim of a pretended plot, which all knew to be invented only to gratify a blood-thirsty revenge. She took her seat at once in the chair prepared for her, according to the Portuguese custom, and the executioner was about to tie her feet, and to do this lifted her dress a little, when she exclaimed, 'Be off; touch me not. What liberties are these!' Upon this he fell upon his knées, and begged her pardon; and she, taking a ring from her finger, gave it him, saying, 'Here, my son, take this; it is the only thing I have left in the world. And now, do your duty.' In a few minutes her head fell upon her bosom, and it is said that such was the horror that pervaded the multitude, that scarce an eye was raised to see the stroke that took away the life of a lady of such honour and such virtue. We are told that the reason why the Marchioness was chosen to be the first victim, was because it was known that the Queen and Princess of Brazil were making intercession for her, and Carvalho feared that the clemency of the King might steal his prey from him. In fact, a messenger bearing pardon arrived shortly after, but her head was already rolling in the dust. After this, her two sons, Don Joseph Mary and Don Louis Bernard, and the Count de Atouguia, were strangled, and

their limbs broken upon the rack. A cry of compassion rose from the multitude at the sight of these two young men, in the flower of their youth, known as they were to all for the sweetness and amiability of their characters, so little savouring of the dark conspiracy attributed to them. The old Marquis de Tavora was the next. His death was like that of his sons, but, by way of signal clemency, his torture was brief. He was followed by the three attendants, Joseph Romeiro, John Miguel, and Emmanuel Alvarez, and finally by the Duke de Aveiro, the only one whose fortitude forsook him, who added to the universal horror by uttering dreadful cries till death put an end to his tortures. There were still two, called in the sentence hired assassins, both sentenced to the extreme penalty. These were Joseph Policarpo de Azevedo and Antonio Alves Fereira, brother of the Duke's chamberlain. The latter was suspended upon a gallows, and for want of the other, who had escaped, his effigy was exhibited on a gibbet, that the measure of the spectacle of vengeance might be full. Fire was then applied to the scaffold, and the whole, reeking with blood, with the mangled victims and the still living Fereira, consumed by the flames, and the ashes spread on the wide bosom of the Tagus.

Even this was not enough. It is said that Carvalho wished to carry the executions much further, but that the King, with a firmness which reminds us of that of Pilate, refused his sanction. It is otherwise hard to understand how it was that the Jesuits, who were declared to be the movers of the plot, were allowed to escape. He may have still shrunk from shedding the blood of consecrated men; but we shall see that he found another means of satisfying his hatred against one of them, the most renowned of them all for his sanctity, but the one who could open the eyes of the King as to the affairs of America, if only he were allowed to live. Of the other victims, the Count de Obidos was offered his liberty, but he nobly replied that he would not accept it, unless he were allowed a trial to justify his being held in confinement. This was too just to be granted, and he was allowed to die in prison.

Meantime the palaces of de Aveiro and Tavora were destroyed, and their sites sprinkled with salt. No one was allowed to bear the name of Tavora; the name of the family estate and of a stream that passed through it were changed, and the title erased from all inscriptions and documents even in the public archives.[9] Carvalho wished it to be believed that the crime of the Tavoras had rendered their name too vile to be pronounced in Portugal. We may believe that it was to himself like an evil spirit racking his soul with fearful memories, and inspiring terrors to which he was not yet altogether dead. A missioner lately returned from South America tells me that he met a descendant of this illustrious family, and bearing its once honoured name, begging her bread in the interior of Brazil.

It is now time to make some remarks on the sentence published by Carvalho to justify the executions. To say that it excited disgust in all civilized nations would be little. It is a document so evidently false from beginning to end, so wanting in every element that should characterize a solemn judicial act on which the fortunes and lives of so many persons of such exalted character depended, that it must for ever remain an opprobrium to Portugal that such a sentence could have been allowed to pass unchallenged and so many noble lives sacrificed on its authority. Never was a more cruel despotism accepted by slaves under the name of justice. The document is much too long to be introduced into these pages. Indeed, it is impossible to discuss it fully without entering into wearying details and extending this chapter far beyond the limits I am obliged to assign to it. The copy before me occupies fifty pages in 12mo, and it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that every sentence contains either an absurdity or a contradiction. The first thing that strikes the reader is the inflated and declamatory style of the language, so unlike the calm dignity of a judicial act. We are told, for example, that Don Joseph Mascarenhas (the Duke de Aveiro) was 'diabolically overcome by the malignant spirit of pride,

[9] *Vita*, vol. ii. p. 109.

ambition, cupidity, and implacable hatred,' that he persevered in 'this infernal, execrable system of hatred and infamous sedition;' we are told of the 'most pernicious example of sacrilegious detraction and hatred of the royal services;' of 'the infernal parricide, the sacrilegious and infamous project, the detestable and ferocious deceits insufferable to pious ears;' 'the infamous and abominable conspiracy, the detestable confederation and infernal conspiracy, the infamous and detestable monsters who discharged the sacrilegious arquebuses and occasioned such enormous evils.' These expressions gleaned out of the first few pages, suggest an author who has no proofs to present, but endeavours to impress his readers by the accumulation of strong words.

The improbabilities gathered together in the description of the conspiracy are such as to force on any mind the conclusion that the whole is the production of a fertile but not very well balanced imagination. Such a conspiracy might have been formed by madmen, but it is hardly credible that any one in his senses could have had part in it.

The preparations for this attack on the life of the King are such as could only have been adopted for a public expedition against banditti, unless the conspirators sought their own destruction. The Duke de Aveiro began to join to himself all persons who were discontented with the King: and 'notwithstanding the aversion of the Marchioness de Tavora to the Duke, and the opposition of interests and character,' she, too, began to hold daily assemblies, where nothing was heard but abuse and calumny of the King: indeed, 'the ordinary conversation in her house was a continual treason and machination against his Majesty.[10] In these meetings it was decided to take his life, and the measures were then planned to carry this design into effect.'[11] 'She tried to join in the conspiracy all persons that it was possible for her to seduce.'[12] She brought in her husband, her sons, sons-in-law, brothers-in-law, and friends. 'The house of Tavora became an infamous workshop of confederation, treason, and conspiracy, and the

[10] § 6. [11] *Ibid.* [12] *Ibid.*

same pernicious abominable practices, conferences, and confederation took place in the house of the Duke.'[13]

Two days before the attempt, the young Marquis sent two horses already saddled to the Duke's stables, while the Duke sent four of his own elsewhere to be in readiness.[14] On the night of the attempt another meeting is held.[15] Eleven horses are posted in proper positions, besides those to be mounted by followers,[16] and the Duke sallies out disguised in a number of great coats and wigs. After the failure of the attempt, during the very same night, the conspirators meet to lament their misfortune,[17] and again on the morning of the 4th, a council of all the relations is held, in which the two hired assassins, Policarpo and Fereira,[18] are severely rebuked for their clumsiness. It is needless to say that all these meetings were held in the sight of the numerous attendants of the various branches of these noble families. All this going and coming, these long sessions, must have been the talk of all Lisbon long before the day of action arrived. This is so evident, that it alone suffices to convince any one who will reflect that the whole story is a fabrication. We have seen too that the King had declared his intention of passing that week in entire seclusion. To have departed from this purpose openly would have been a breach of etiquette which it would be impossible to suppose. But the secret excursions to which, it was known, he was addicted, usually took him in a direction quite different from that in which the scene of the attempt is laid; so that it could never have been foreseen that the royal carriage would pass that way on the night of the 3rd. It follows that all the story of the placing of the three ambuscades in the Arch do Meyo, and in other positions on the same road, on that night is so improbable as to amount to an impossibility. Again, are we to believe, as we are told, that the Duke chose for his own ambush an archway surrounded by houses, where the report of firearms must have been inevitably heard and his escape rendered impossible? It was his business to shoot the coach-

[13] § 8. [14] § 17. [15] § 11. [16] § 17. [17] § 21. [18] *Ibid.*

man, and the two paid assassins placed in the next ambuscade were to shoot the King after the inhabitants had been aroused by the report of the first piece and the cries for help which must inevitably have followed. It is left unexplained why out of the nine horsemen thus brought together as if for a battle, two only discharged their pieces besides the Duke, whose piece missed fire; and what the other two horses were for we are not told. This alone would suffice to show the impossibility of the story; but the contradictions between the sentence and the edict of the King, and between the different parts of the sentence, are so manifest as to render the falseness of both evident. I can only notice one or two points. According to the edict, the King was wounded as he passed through the arch where the first ambuscade was placed; but, according to the sentence, the carriage had well passed the second ambuscade, and was going at such a velocity that the 'two most ferocious assassins' who were placed there had to 'follow it at a gallop, and take aim as they could,' and 'fired their sacrilegious and execrable arquebuses into the back of the carriage.' It is evident, then, that when the decree was published the story of the plot was not yet mature, and it is probable that the Minister's mind had not yet embraced the full extent of the opportunity for revenge offered him by this unfortunate accident, and that even when it did, he was too careless to make his story consistent.

A still more glaring contradiction is found in the description of the wounds. The decree calls them severe (graves feridas), which would mean deep flesh wounds, though not dangerous; the sentence calls them most grave and dangerous wounds, and lacerations extending from the shoulder and right arm to the elbow, as well on the exterior as the interior side,[19] causing a considerable loss of substance with great cavities produced by the different wounds, six of which were in the chest, from all of which was taken a large quantity of heavy

[19] 'As gravissimas e perigosissimas feridas e dilaceraçoes que desde o hombro e braço direito até o cotovello pela parte de fòra e de dentro do mesmo braço fizeram' (§ 19).

shot;[20] and only a few lines after it is said, by way of showing the manifest Divine interposition, that 'only one of the discharges grazed the outer part of the shoulder and arm and the other passed between the arm and the side, striking the extremities only without touching any important part.'[21] It needs no comment to show the contradiction of these passages, to say nothing of the difficulty that the shots were fired into the back of the carriage, and yet the wounds were in the chest; and if all this be considered in connection with the story of the fall, which has been mentioned above, it is no wonder that many believed that the carriage was never fired at at all. It is at least manifest that the story told in the sentence is a fabrication.

There is another point which must here be noticed. The conspiracy is evidently designed to bring under the law such persons as the Marchioness de Tavora, whom no ingenuity could have taken to the scene of the attack; as well as to implicate the Jesuits, and other members of the accused families, said to have been placed in the second and third ambuscades. But, according to the sentence, the whole of the great plot which had kept all these families in the agitation and excitement of preparation for so long came to nothing: all the intrigues and conferences between the Marchioness and the Jesuits were ineffectual. For, according to the sentence it was the Duke and the two paid assassins who alone took any active part; they alone fired at the carriage. It was the Duke himself who chose these two men;[22] it was he who paid them by instalments; he instructed them. He, we are told, went in person with these two men again and again, on foot and on horseback, to the coach-house of the King, to point out to them the carriage, that there might be no mistake. There

[20] 'Uma consideravel perda de substancia com grandes cavidades e differentes golpes dos quaes chegaram seis a offender o peito sahindo de todos um grande numero de grossa munição.'

[21] 'De sorte que sò um offendesse de raspão a parte exterior do hombro e braço e o oùtro passasse entre o mesmo braço e o lado do corpo offendendo as extremidades sem que tocasse partealguma que fosse principal' (*Ibid*).

[22] § 13.

are many things here that ought to have struck any one not totally out of his wits. How, for example, did the Duke know which particular carriage the King would use that night? or had he but one? What was the need of their being so carefully instructed when he himself was to shoot the coachman before it came to their turn to fire, which would seem to have been signal enough for most men? Again, we are not told whether he frequented the King's stableyard by day or by night. At night the coach-house would certainly be locked, and to have had the door opened and lights brought for the purpose of identifying the carriage would be too senseless a thing for even the author of the sentence to have conceived; but for the Duke de Aveiro, known for his haughty character, to go again and again into the stableyard on foot and on horseback with two common men in broad daylight, considering the numerous servants who are always to be found in such places, and who must have been astonished at seeing him on such an errand and in such company, and this not once or twice but many times, is too incredible to be imagined. It appears therefore that the conspiracy may be resolved into two, one of which may be laid aside entirely as not entering at all into the events of the night, and the second, which lay entirely between the Duke and the two assassins, is so badly conceived as to destroy itself.

It will be noticed that all I am saying has no direct reference to the Society, but it regards it indirectly, as it shows that no reliance for truth can be placed on the sentence; and it follows that if one part is false, the remainder may be equally so. I must now say a few words on that portion which regards the Jesuits directly. It will appear that this part no less than the other contains its own refutation. In the first place the sentence speaks of the previous violent aversion between the Duke and the Society, and their subsequent close intimacy. This is false in both its parts. Considering the Duke's character and position, such relations could not have existed without being notorious; but it was well known that the Duke never went to their houses.

He had the practice of going once a year to the Church of St. Francis Borgia, but had no communication with the Fathers. Before the period spoken of there was no enmity though there was no intimacy. Holding the office of Provedor da Misericordia, he chose Jesuit preachers. In his office of President of the Tribunal of the Palace, he always received them with attention and affability, and being once consulted as to a new foundation for some religious community, he said that new foundations could not be granted except to Colleges of the Society, which were of so great public utility. And in consequence of this declaration, the Provincial considered himself bound to go to offer him his thanks. There is no sign here of the 'implacable aversion and declared war amounting to a public and crying scandal' of which the sentence speaks. But if this had been really true, to have passed suddenly from so notorious an enmity to a confidence so intimate that they dared to reveal to one another so dark and secret a design as the assassination of the King, indicates a folly so extravagant that it can scarcely be imagined, especially when we remember the 'well-known arrogance and vindictive spirit' here attributed to the Society. Again, the Fathers who with the Duke were the original authors of the plot, and whose persuasion drew in the Marchioness of Tavora, are not named; a very strange omission in the charge of a judge, on the strength of which the Society was condemned for regicide. We are told that after the Marchioness had been associated to the conspiracy she was confirmed in her wickedness by Father Malagrida, under whom she then made the Spiritual Exercises, and who was her constant and absolute director. But Malagrida had been banished from Lisbon a year before the date fixed for the commencement of the conspiracy, at a time when the Fathers were in full favour at Court, and could not possibly either have been her director or given her the Exercises during the interval. In addition to this, the Fathers are said to have been at that time in open enmity with the Duke, and could then have had no part in a conspiracy originating with him. It is clear, therefore, by the

showing of the sentence, that Malagrida had nothing to say either to the origin of the conspiracy or to the association of the Marchioness with it; and yet this very association of the Marchioness with the conspirators is put down later as one of the effects of his influence; and it is here that De Mattos and Alexander Souza are first named as it were by accident, though they were afterwards condemned to death as heads of the conspiracy. The whole reminds us of one of those half-conceived stories that a guilty man will tell, as a last resource, to escape conviction.

When we read that the Fathers assured the Duke that he would not even commit a venial sin by assassinating the King, and promised him indemnity for all losses he might incur, we are surprised only that such an absurdity could be introduced gravely into a criminal indictment, even by Carvalho. It must be added, too, that the Fathers were arrested on the 11th of January, and the sentence published on the 12th. The author of the Life tells us it was completed on the 9th. In any case it is evident they were condemned without being heard or examined. It is not necessary to dwell longer upon this; but there is another point on which I must touch.

The sentence contains twenty-nine paragraphs, each of which begins with the words *se mostra*, 'it is shown or proved,' and yet in the first twenty-one paragraphs there is no semblance of a proof of any kind—nothing but assertions of the character of which enough has been said. In the twenty-second paragraph we find a proof. It is one which would satisfy the most ardent admirers of the Society, for the introduction of such an argument suffices to show that no proof was to be had, for no one could have brought it forward, especially with such a flourish of words, had there been anything else to rely on. This paragraph begins by the assertion that 'even if the exuberant and concluding proofs already brought forward did not exist, the presumption of law would be quite sufficient to condemn the monsters,' &c. The presumption on which Carvalho relies, which he states in the following

paragraph, is that 'he who has once been wicked will always be so, and will consequently be capable of committing any other wickedness of the same character as that which he has committed in the past.' He then refers to the usurpations of the Society in Asia, Africa, and America, and to the war they had carried on in Brazil, and thence concludes that, even if all other proofs were wanting, it is to these religious that is to be attributed the insult of which there is question, so long as they do not show conclusively that others are guilty of it.'[23] It is not necessary to say much of this perversion of a maxim of law. The author forgets that the crimes attributed to the Society in America were never proved; that his book on the subject was condemned as an infamous libel; that the usurpations in Africa and Portuguese Asia were never heard of, still less the seditions raised in the Court of Lisbon, and that if there were such, it is he himself who was the traitor for not exposing them on the spot. But there is another maxim of law which the author brings to his succour—'No great crime is committed without great interest,' whence he argues that those who have interest in a crime are to be presumed to have committed it until they justify themselves by proving that it was committed by another. He then continues: 'The great interest of these religious which has already been exposed, and which is shown by their acts in this conspiracy, . . . would alone suffice as a clear proof that these religious are guilty . . . especially when we consider that their ambition to acquire dominion over this country bears a proportion and parity to the unfortunate insult of the 3rd of September.' It appears, therefore, that the guilt is presumed from the interest in the success of the crime, and the interest of the Jesuits in the crime is proved from the part which they had in it. If this had been a comedy of law we could have smiled at the vicious circle; but when we remember that this was a solemn judicial act which condemned the first nobles of the realm to the torments of the rack and an ignominious and horrible death, it is sickening to the last degree.

[23] §§ 23, 24.

But the argument of our expert itself frees the Society from suspicion, for, according to it, all that was wanted was that it should be conclusively proved that the crime was committed by others. This the author of the sentence does for us, for according to him the only three who really took part in the attempt against the King were the Duke de Aveiro and the two assassins, Policarpo and Fereira, and it was, on the same authority, the Duke alone who chose and trained these two men. Moreover, the motives of his rage against the King, if we are to believe the sentence, are sufficiently brought forward, without the need of any counsellors to lead him to the deed; wherefore by the sentence's own showing the argument against the Society falls to the ground. In addition to this a real argument may be drawn from the second maxim of law; the Society had no interest in the King's death, but every interest in his preservation, and an attempt on his life on their part would have been an inexplicable folly. Again, to draw a real argument from the other principle; the Society was ground to the dust by the cruelty and oppression of the Minister; his removal from the scene would have caused not only themselves but all Portugal to live again. They were incapable of such a thought, and this man continued for twenty-three years, till the extinction of the Society in which he had so large a share, to oppress them with the extremity of cruelty. The Society here at least did not do evil that good might come from it. Is it likely, then, that it would have raised its hand against a King who esteemed them, and from whom, when not overruled by his Minister, they received nothing but benefits? May we not rather argue, according to the maxim with which Carvalho himself furnishes us, that the Society has always been guided by the same principles that led it to suffer the extremity of persecution rather than violate the law of God? But we are told[24] that at the very time the Jesuits were expelled from the Palace, the Fathers began to spread about that the days of the King were short, that in the following September he would die, that

[24] § 26.

Malagrida communicated in writing prophecies to this effect to various persons. I ask, why were not those who published such things brought to justice at the time? How is it that we hear of these things now for the first time? Of Malagrida I have more to say. I will only ask now, was it ever proved that any one had received such a paper from him? If so, why was it not brought in evidence against him? Great account was made of the letter he was supposed to have written to the King, warning him of danger. I shall give the true version of this story later; but in any case it would be far from a proof that he was concerned in the plot, but rather that having heard something of it, he wished to arrest its progress.

In order to complete this subject, I must refer again to the alleged confession of the Duke. The sentence says almost all the guilty confessed their crime. I ask, if this is true, if, in addition, the Duke inculpated the Fathers, why was not this confession introduced into the sentence instead of the irrelevant details and suggestions of motives which on their very face are worthless? In one only case the words of a confession are given; it is that of Romeiro: but it inculpates no one, and serves only to show that the author would gladly have introduced the confessions of the others if he had had them. Eight years afterwards the *Chronological Deduction* was published, either by Carvalho or under his inspiration. In this is contained a confession purporting to be that of the Duke, but it is manifestly a fabrication intended to support the justice of the execution.[25] In the first place, it must be at once seen that the Duke could never have spoken in the words there given. It is, throughout, in the redundant, hyperbolic style so familiar to those who have read the other productions of the Minister, and is, besides, in contradiction with the sentence and with the truth in many points of detail. One instance will suffice. The Duke is made to speak of having repeatedly visited Father Perdigão at St. Rock, whereas he never lived there, but at St. Antony's; and in like manner Father Oliveira is placed at St. Antony's, though he lived always at St. Rock.

[25] Italian edition, 1767, p. 505. See next chapter, p. 241.

If the Duke had visited these Fathers as often as is alleged, he could not have fallen into this error; but this last blunder is found in the confession of some of the servants, given in the same book. From this it is quite clear that the error is not that of the Duke or the domestics, but of a third person who composed all these confessions. Again, the sentence assigns various motives for the crime of the Duke, but the confession states one only, which is not given in the sentence. Moreover, the confession makes Father de Costa the originator of the whole plot, and yet the sentence does not even name him. It is needless to add that the fact of this confession being found solely in the *Chronological Deduction*, perhaps the most infamous of all the libels published against the Society, is an irresistible argument of its mendacity. It is unnecessary to say more; this confession is certainly not genuine; if there was any other, why was this composed, and why was the real one suppressed, even in the sentence, when it would have been of so much value? There is no answer to this question, except that it was felt to be worthless, and this was composed at leisure afterwards to produce an impression on the public.

Such was this celebrated juridical act. It was no sooner published than its weakness became so evident that the agents of Carvalho began to support it with innumerable fly-sheets and other libels against the Society. Of these, one of the most wicked was a pamphlet entitled, *Reflections of the Jesuits upon the sentence*, full of calumnies and injuries against the King, but not answering in any way the fallacies of the sentence. It was hoped by such means to blind the public to its real nature, and increase the animosity against the Society. In foreign countries there was but one opinion as to the value of the sentence. It was regarded as an authentic declaration of the innocence of the Society; and, indeed, it can be looked on in no other light than an act of Providence destined to defend it against calumny. Had all been wrapt in mystery, how difficult would it now have been to prove the falseness of the accusation! but when the worst enemy the Society ever had could find nothing more to put

forward to justify his extreme acts, it was indeed a defence. It is related that Maupertuis, having heard the sentence read before a great assembly of academicians, on being asked what he thought of it, replied, 'I think the Government of Portugal has published this document as an apology for the Jesuits.'[26] It is the same who wrote to Condamine these very significant words, which were more prophetic than he knew: 'As to the Jesuits, I entirely agree with you; they must be very innocent to escape punishment, but I should never persuade myself that they were really guilty, even if I knew that they had been burned alive.'[27] The Marshal de Belleisle wrote in 1762: 'I have no hesitation in affirming that it is as easy to prove that the Jesuits had no part in that horrible conspiracy, as it is to destroy the sophisms of those who accuse them. . . . I have in my hands excellent memoirs, which put the whole of this matter in the clearest light. . . . Alas, for Princes who in such important matters fail to see things for themselves!'

An English magazine published at the time[28] has these words: 'The sentence of the tribunal of *Inconfidenza* is deserving only of contempt, as it gives no satisfaction to the public, and is manifestly unjust to the accused. At least for us Englishmen a sentence which is one piece of declamation can have no weight at all. We have here a public act of justice in which the witnesses are kept back, and the publication of a trial which sins formally against every fundamental law.' If it is true that falsehood shuns the light, an irresistible argument in confirmation of what I am saying might be found in the means taken by the minister to hush up the whole story of this conspiracy and of the fate of the victims. Of this an interesting evidence has been thrown in my way, which I cannot refrain from introducing here. It is from the pen of the well-known lexicographer Baretti, who, being bitterly hostile to the Society, will be listened to without suspicion. In a letter written from Lisbon to his brothers on September 18, 1760, to which

[26] *Tratado Apologetico da innocencia dos Jesuitas*, p. 11.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Shirley's Magazine*, March, 1759. *Ibid.*

he has prefixed the title *Gente a cui è vietato parlare*, he says:[29]

The researches which I am making in this country are not confined merely to manners and customs, to palaces and convents. I have done all in my power to collect authentic information upon the various events which during these last years have turned the eyes of all Europe on this kingdom. And you, my good brothers, would not fail to be astonished at my industry and diligence if I were to tell you the efforts I have made to discover the true motive of the criminal conduct of the Duke de Aveiro, of the expulsion of the Jesuits, of the exile of the natural brothers of the King, of the hard treatment of Cardinal Acciajuoli, and of the exaltation of Sebastian Joseph Carvalho to the highest grade of power.

These events certainly deserve some research, especially when we observe the care taken to cover them with the thickest veil, which will perhaps be an embarrassment to future historians. But I am sorry to be obliged to tell you that I have gained very little profit from all my researches. This Government has forbidden any one to speak of these matters, and this under the severest penalties. And so great is the number of persons who have been cast into prison for having transgressed this order, that the poor Portuguese are seized with very terror every time they hear certain names pronounced. Hence it is not so easy as you perhaps imagine to induce any one belonging to this country to enter into these matters, or to give his opinion on the smallest question that refers to politics. And yet I can assure you that the propensity to talk and the inclination to lay down the law are two of the principal elements which enter into the composition of the Portuguese character. As to the details which I have been able to procure by conversation on these subjects with foreigners, I must tell you that I have found them full of uncertainty, contradiction, partiality, and animosity, so that it is better to wait and talk them over *tête-à-tête* when I shall be with you, than to enter into them now in a letter, which it would take you very long to read, and which would not satisfy you.

But another, and if possible a more signal proof of the discredit of this famous document is the fact that in the Brief

[29] *Viaggio da Londra a Genova passando per l'Inghilterra occidentale, il Portogallo, la Spagna e la Francia, da Giuseppe Baretti.* Lettera 31a, vol. ii. p. 1.

of Suppression of the Society, published only fourteen years after, when all these circumstances were still fresh in the memory of every one, though it brings together every other accusation against the Society, and was submitted to the courts,[30] that it might be conformed to the will of the Society's foes, there is not a word of the conspiracy against the King of Portugal. Even in that act in which the enemies of the Society had their greatest triumph, this sentence was passed over in contemptuous and most significative silence. More cannot be needed to show the reader its real value.

Notwithstanding all that has already been said, there is evidence of another character, which it is impossible to pass over. There are some enemies that it is not enough to overcome; they must be destroyed. So it is with such a calumny as this. What I am going to place before the reader is one of those strange stories which seem to show to evidence that 'there is nothing secret that shall not be revealed,' and that in many cases of most hidden and extreme villainy, the Searcher of hearts does not wait for the day of universal reckoning, but forces the wicked by the labour of their own souls to give up to the world their darkest and most execrable deeds. It is a sad grief to think that men, whose duty it was to protect the innocent, and who should have given an example of the single-mindedness of the Gospel, should lend their hands to a plot, or even be found instigating measures of the most crying injustice. But the well-informed reader will not fail to reflect that if evils had never existed among men even in high places in the Church, the Spouse of Christ would not have been desolated by the heresies and schisms which the world has seen, and would have wanted one of its evidences of Divine institution. A physician is never so assured of the constitution of his patient as when he learns that he has already overcome severe attacks of disease. So it is with the Church. The very blind may see that it must long since have perished under the storms that have assailed it from without, or the treason from within, had it not been guided by a Divine hand.

[30] Theiner, vol. iii. p. 94.

It will be seen that the statement I am going to produce speaks of a plot, but it is here even insinuated that it might have been got up by Carvalho himself. There are many reasons to lead us to suppose that a real conspiracy never existed; and independently of all other arguments, the complete absence of any proportionate motive makes its supposition incredible; but the idea of a plot of Carvalho himself coincides so perfectly with all that has been related that I feel compelled to accept this interpretation. A circumstance which came to light after the opening of the prisons confirms this view, and, with the document I am about to give, completes our knowledge of this mysterious affair till the secrets of the archives of Portugal are given to the world. It is related that when the prisons were opened under Mary, a soldier was found in one of the dungeons, who deposed that he had been employed by Carvalho to fire two shots into the back of one of the King's carriages, and to say when arrested that he had done it at the instigation of the Jesuits. This man was confronted with Carvalho at his trial, and the latter acknowledged that it was true, but said that he did it by the orders of the King on account of a real conspiracy which he had discovered.[31] It is evident that this would have been no reason, but it helps us to form a conjecture of the truth, which agrees with everything we know about this celebrated question. It is this, that Carvalho himself had planned a fictitious conspiracy, which he had represented to the King as real in order to compromise the nobles, but which had no reference to the Society. Before it was ripe the accident of September 3 occurred, in which the King was really but unintentionally wounded. Carvalho spent three months in suiting his story to what had really happened. For this it was necessary that a royal carriage should be pierced with balls, as the King had been riding at the time in that of Texeira, and to cover the secret object of this journey the scene must be changed to the neighbourhood of Belem. In no other way can the various reports of a fall, the delay in taking public notice of the crime,

[31] *Memoria Cattolica Secunda*, vol. i. p. 135. Ristretto del Processo.

and the various relations, all given by persons living in Lisbon at the time, be conciliated. That the King was really wounded, and that the occasion of it was no secret, we have on authority that cannot be doubted. The Infanta of Portugal, who died a few months before the time of my writing this, was a child when her grandmother, Mary I., was Queen of Portugal. She related that she often heard her grandmother say that when the King was brought wounded to the palace, the Queen said to him significantly, *Esta lhi bem*—'It serves you right,' alluding to his intercourse with Doña Joanna.[32]

The following statement is translated from a manuscript of the Abbate Vincenzo Giorgi, formerly of the Society, but after the suppression, theologian of the Sacred Penitentiary.

I happened one morning [he says] (I think it was in the year 1776) to ask for a confessor before saying Mass (in the Church of the Passionists in Rome). My request was complied with, and one of the religious, hitherto unknown to me, was called for this purpose. After my confession, from which the Father had learned that I had been a Jesuit, he spoke to me in terms of great affection and esteem, exhorting me to suffer with resignation the continual martyrdom of obedience in our dissolution, and then with very marked feeling, continued as follows: 'I am obliged to confide to you an important business, or rather, a great sin of mine, and I pray you to make it known to as many as you can of your Fathers for the relief of my conscience, and as a mark of my sincere repentance. I am a Portuguese, and an Augustinian by profession. I was formerly public lecturer in a university (he told me which, but I now forget), and theologian to the Bishop of N.N.[33] Happening to be in the company of this Prelate one day, a little before the famous September 3, 1759, on which the King Joseph I. was fired

[32] I have received this from the person to whom the Infanta herself related it.

[33] This was da Cunha, Bishop of Leira. He had been a great friend of the Society, extolled their doctrine, and made great use of them in his diocese. He was gained over by Carvalho, and received as his reward the Archbishopric of Evora. He was afterwards, by Clement XIV., made Cardinal, and Grand Inquisitor of Portugal; but on the death of Joseph, seeing the fortunes of Carvalho failing, repaid with evil the favours of which he had not been worthy and turned against his benefactor (*Vita V. P. E. Correæ; Animadv.* iii.).

at with the arquebuses, the Prelate said to me, "If I could trust in your secrecy, I should have a great matter to confide to you." I answered that if he doubted my secrecy he might have omitted such an expression, which rather offended me; but if he really felt confidence in me, he might speak with full liberty. He then took courage, and related to me the whole affair of the attack upon the King, as it was then planned, in which the Jesuits were in no way implicated.

'After the event had taken place, I entered into conversation with the Prelate upon what had happened. He was then looked on with evil eyes by the Minister Carvalho. I was then the author of a wicked counsel, insinuating that as it was thought that this affair was either prepared or thought opportune by the Minister for the purpose of ruining the Jesuits, so it seemed to me a good opportunity for winning his affection by disseminating in a pastoral the seeds of suspicion against them, charging the Jesuits and their doctrine with it. This idea was well received by the Prelate. I undertook the charge of writing the pastoral, which I did, and which was in fact published, and for which I was promised a large recompense. The Minister Carvalho was pleased, and the Bishop was restored to favour, and it seems to me, that in proof of this may be adduced a marriage which took place between a relation of the Bishop's family and one of Carvalho's.

'I could not help feeling a deep remorse for so enormous an imposture. It was this remorse which compelled me to make a retractation, which I sent to the frontiers of Spain to be published, but it was suppressed or destroyed. Seeing therefore this attempt fruitless, I decided that it was my duty to retract an act so unworthy of my character at the feet of the Pope. I therefore fled secretly from Portugal, but *retento habitu*, and took the road for Rome. I disembarked at Corneto, where I found Mgr. Giustiniani, Bishop of Montefiascone, together with Father Angeri, a Jesuit and theologian of the Sacred Penitentiary. I told them all, and they were of opinion I should continue my journey to Rome. But as entering Rome with the habit would have obliged me to present myself to Father Vasquez, General of the Order, they therefore, after having acquainted the Holy Father, Clement XIII., with all, obtained for me the permission to wear a secular dress (*salvis substantialibus votorum et regulæ*), and thus to go to Rome, as I did.

'I was well received by the Holy Father, and gave him a long manuscript, containing, together with my retractation, the most

secret and interesting details about the affairs of Portugal, written in my own hand, and the Holy Father, wishing to show me special kindness, gave me the post of Secretary and Keeper of the Lancesian Library, where I remained some time ; but seeing that I was not very acceptable to my colleagues, and wishing to perform more rigorous penance for my sin, I felt myself moved to enter the Congregation of the Passionists, where I now am to my consolation. I laid my request before Father Paul who granted it willingly, but told me I should not stop there long, but should take up again the habit of St. Augustine and return to Portugal ; but at present I cannot see how this will be verified.' He added many other things with the most lively expressions of grief for his sin. I do not remember them in detail, but they were all in favour of the Society, and so recommending himself to my prayers with protests of friendship, we concluded our first conversation. Though I did not doubt the truth of this story, still to have a more authentic confirmation of it, I went to the house of the Abbate Angeri, who, after I had told him all, assured me that everything he had related was most true, and added that the manuscript presented to Clement XIII., after his death, passed into the hands of Cardinal Torregiani, and that Father Zaccaria had had either the original or a copy made by the author himself,[34] &c.

The Abbate Giorgi adds that in many subsequent conversations he had with him he found him always the same, and always retained the impression of edification at his sentiments and esteem for his learning.

The same story is related in a little book published at Lugano in 1784, on the trial and tragic end of Father Gabriel Malagrida.

This statement, confirmed as it is by the oath of a man holding such a position as Abbate Giorgi needs no further confirmation. The author of the Annotations to the life of Father Correa, published in 1789, gives the name of this religious as Fr. N. da. Sta. Rita, and tells us that, not receiving the reward he expected, he turned upon the Bishop and Carvalho himself, and heaped on them abuse more violent

[34] The original manuscript of the Abbate Giorgi is in the archives of the Society. It is published in the *Osservazioni sopra l'istoria di Theiner*, vol. ii. p. 225.

than he had ever uttered against the Society. Fearing their wrath, he fled to Rome, where he made a solemn recantation of all his calumnies. It was the bitterness of his tongue, he tells us, which was too natural to him to be overcome at once, which led to his withdrawal from the post in the library, given him by Clement XIII. After spending some time gaining a scanty livelihood in the office of a school-master, he entered the Passionist Order, but at the death of Joseph I. returned to Portugal, where he resumed his former habit. I shall later have to add to what I have written on this mysterious conspiracy, the deposition of Carvalho himself when he was in his turn brought to trial.

CHAPTER VIII.

Libellous Pamphlets.

The zeal of the Minister in avenging the supposed attack on his master obtained for him the title of Count of Oeiras and the increased confidence of the King, who now more than ever began to look on him as his only faithful servant; but the honour was nevertheless mixed with disappointment. The sentence which he had sent in such haste to all the Courts of Europe was received with disgust; indeed, so far was he from exciting the sympathies of foreign princes on the occasion of the insult to the King that, whereas, on the attempt against Louis XV. in the preceding year, all the sovereigns of Europe had written to congratulate him on his preservation, this atrocious conspiracy, this sacrilegious parricide, was passed over with contemptuous silence. Scarcely was the tragedy of Belem over when, conscious of the weakness of his cause, on January 17 Carvalho issued a decree confirming the sentence, and forbidding its revision; and, the more securely to justify himself with the public, and to prepare the country for the expulsion of the Society, on which he was determined, he began to exert himself more than ever to discredit it.

The Society at this time enjoyed the repute of an Order flourishing in the full observance of the practices of religious life. It was employed everywhere by the Episcopate; its ministry was sought for, and its members were esteemed, by all classes. To break down this barrier to his design, he caused Europe to be inundated with books and pamphlets, in which they were accused, not only of the attempt against the King, but of every crime that could disgrace, not to say

religious, but Christians. Large numbers of copies of the *Brief Relation* and other libels were distributed throughout Europe, and even sent to Brazil and Goa, in order to dispose the minds of the people for the cruelties they were to witness. The sentence of January 12 had been, as will be readily supposed, read with eagerness by the party in Rome opposed to the Society, but, unfortunately for its author, it pleased nobody. The members of the faction were ashamed of a document so full of contradictions and improbabilities, while the friends of justice were struck dumb by a sentence which carried with it penalties so awful, but which did not show the slightest appearance of proof. Here, as elsewhere, it was taken as a solemn, and providential, acquittal of the Society. This was seen quite well by the clear-headed Jansenists of Rome, who felt that their cause would make little way if left entirely to the obtuse-minded, blundering Minister in Lisbon. Their object was to ruin the whole Society, or at least to produce an excuse for banishing it from the whole dominions of Portugal. But what could the Jesuits of Brazil or Goa have had to do with the attempt of September 3, especially as three Fathers alone were accused? It was necessary to involve the whole Society. It was accordingly suggested to Almada that a book should be published in which the attempt against the King should be attributed to the pernicious doctrines of the Society and to its system of government. It is here we see the influence of the Jansenistical party of France, which was now so strong in Rome, adding more subtle counsels to the brute violence of Carvalho. These men were wise in their generation, for they not only extended the attack to the whole Society, but they enlisted in the cause all the other Courts, in which there were men only too glad to find a common ground on which to assail it. At the same time, advantage was taken of the comments that were freely made upon the *Sentence* to represent the Jesuits as filling Rome with calumnies against the King of Portugal, and we shall see that after this time this became one of the staple accusations of Carvalho against the Fathers. The result of these

counsels was the publication of a work entitled *Impious and Seditious Errors of the Religious of the Society of Jesus.* It was published in Portuguese, and distributed in the name of the King, but it bears the character of the party in Rome, and is the work either of the author of the *Reflections* or of one of his class. It is a collection of errors calumniously attributed to the Society; it is formed on the basis of the *Morale Pratique* of Arnauld, and is the immediate forerunner of the celebrated *Extrait des Assertions.* It is full of the usual accusations of lax morals, treason, rebellion, and the like. The full pedigree of it will be given in the history of the suppression of the Society in France. It is enough to say here that it is only a modification of a work published in 1632 by the Protestant Minister Du Moulin, entitled, *Catalogue of Roman Traditions*, in which everything that could be gathered out of Catholic theologians, which could be strained so as to shock the simple, was held up to execration, in order to throw opprobrium on the Church. Another form of this work was *Moral Theology of the Papists.* The idea was taken up by the Jansenists; the names of theologians of other orders were omitted, and it appeared in 1642 under the new title of *Moral Theology of the Jesuits.*

On January 19 Carvalho wrote in the name of the King to the Archbishop of Braga, Primate of Portugal, sending him at the same time a copy of this book. The letter is as follows—

Most Reverend Father in Christ, Archbishop Primate of Braga, our most loving brother,—We the King send you our greeting, and wish you health. By the two enclosed copies, which, being signed by Sebastian Joseph Carvalho, and Motta, our Counsellor and Secretary of State for the Affairs of the Kingdom, are entitled to the same credit as the originals from which they are taken, you will be informed of the sentence pronounced in the tribunal *da Inconfidenza*, on the 12th inst., against the criminals who were guilty of the barbarous and sacrilegious attempt against our royal person on the night following the 3rd of September of last year, as you will also be informed of the orders we have in the meantime given,[1]

[1] The Italian translation is here unintelligible, but it does not affect what follows.

. . . and this for no other object than to check in some degree the religious of the Society of Jesus, whose relaxation of government has made them not only accomplices, but the chief instigators of the atrocious crimes of treason of the highest class, and parricide, for which they are condemned by that sentence; these religious having abused the sacred ministry to corrupt the consciences of the delinquents executed for these atrocious crimes, and having made use, for this abominable end, of those execrable means which they have repeatedly before employed in similar cases for the same purpose, such as disseminating and insinuating, by means of this abuse of the sacred ministry, the same pestilential poison of their Macchiavellian deceits and anti-Christian doctrines, which have been condemned and anathematized and proscribed by the Church, and principally by Alexander VII. and Innocent X., as heretical, impious, seditious, destructive of Christian charity, of civil society, and the general peace of kingdoms and states; these religious suggesting and causing to be practised, amongst many other errors, . . . specially those which are enumerated in the enclosed work; and as it is made manifest, not only by the evidence of the proofs on which the sentence is founded [we have already seen that there was not the shadow of a proof even of any conspiracy at all], but by other facts which have been brought to our royal presence, and are of equal certainty, that these religious had proposed, as the principal object of their clandestine machinations, to infest with the pestilence of their pernicious doctrines, not only this capital, but even all the provinces of the kingdom, taking advantage of the pious credulity of the faithful to alienate them with deceitful and evil suggestions from their first and chief duty, which is charity towards their neighbour, and from that subjection to the throne which as Christians and vassals they owe it; we have therefore thought it right, without further delay, to make this communication to you, in order that, being informed of the poisonous pasture that malice has pretended to set before your flock, you may be able, with your pastoral care, so far to destroy it that, instead of being fed with deadly poison, they may find useful and salutary nourishment in the fields cultivated by the most zealous and exemplary labourers in the vineyard of the Lord.[2]

On the same day Carvalho sent a circular in the King's name to all the Bishops of Portugal. The style is the same.

[2] *Raccolta d'Opuscoli*, vol. i. p. 85.

He renews the charge of the sedition in Paraguay, for which he refers the Prelates to the *Brief Relation*, 'which,' he says, 'we have had printed.' He complains of the arrogance and insolence of the Jesuits in pretending to deny the facts—'as if there were not three armies and the whole of Spanish and Portuguese America to witness.' He knew very well that they witnessed the falsehood of every word in the story. He then dwells on the abuse of the sacred ministry to spread sacrilegious calumnies against the King and the Governor Mendoza, on the abominable conspiracy, of which they were among the heads, and similar charges, and finally commands them, immediately on receiving this letter, to sequestrate all goods of whatever kind belonging to the Jesuits, and to shut the Fathers up in the nearest convent, promising any number of troops that may be required to enforce obedience, or to complete the blockade of their houses. It is hardly credible that the Minister really expected a resistance from the Fathers that would have made the employment of troops necessary. We shall see in his own confession what he really thought of the Society at the very time that he was exerting all his fury against it. It is probable that he meant only to terrify and disgrace them before the nation, by arraying the military forces against them, as if they had been public enemies of all law and order. As a fact, though there was not, on the part of the members of the Society, a single attempt to resist or even to escape from confinement, it was remarked with amazement, mingled with disgust and ridicule, that the whole military force of the country was occupied in guarding eight hundred Jesuits.

In Rome the *Impious Errors* were quickly translated into Italian, and read with eagerness by the enemies of the Society, but they failed to produce the effect desired. This time they proved too much. Authors like Melchior Canus were quoted who, even in the time of St. Ignatius, accused the Society of pernicious maxims; but they forgot that the Venerable Louis of Granada, of the Order of St. Dominic, one of the greatest masters of spirit of his time, had written to Ribadeneira to express his grief and confusion at the writings of his religious

brother against the Society. He tells him, that this is a case in which he fears the evil that accrues to him who does the injury, not to him who receives it; reminds him that God is accustomed to sweeten waters with salt, and to cure blindness with clay; that it was with the persecutions of Pharaoh that He multiplied the children of Israel, and by the wars of tyrants gave increase to the first Christians, and that He commonly makes use of His own enemies to further His designs. He rejoices with him that the Society has to walk in the path of the primitive Church, and exclaims, 'Woe to Rome when it shall have no Carthage, and woe to the Society when it shall have no more persecutions and battles.' He begs him to supplicate God not to punish the whole of his own Order for the fault of one. Such was the opinion of this holy man on the attacks of Melchior Canus against the Society.[3]

The Romans knew too much of the history and character of the Society to be led to believe that the attack on the King of September 3 was the consequence of principles which had grown up with it from its very root. There was nothing, then, to be done but to make up for the failure by deluging Rome with every kind of libel against the Society. They reprinted and circulated anew the *Tuba Magna*, the *Monarchy of the Solipsi*, the letters of Palafox, and that of the schismatical Archbishop of Utrecht to Benedict XIV. From France there came a work in two volumes, entitled *Historical Problems whether the Jesuits or Luther and Calvin have done more harm to the Christian Church.* At Siena there were published the letters of Covet, of whom I have already spoken, proving that a Bishop could not in conscience employ the Jesuits in preaching and confessions. Besides this we have the *Journal of the Jesuits*, *Conferences of Father Malagrida with the Marchioness of Tavora*, and others of the same class. But it was necessary to speak to the eye. For the great mass who had neither time nor instruction enough to read these libels, engravings were published, representing Jesuits in the act of

[3] The letter which is dated March 31, 1556, is given by Bartoli in the Life of St. Ignatius (Bartoli, *Opere*, vol. i. lib. ii. p. 78. Ed. Marietti).

committing various dreadful crimes. In one a Jesuit was seen trampling a Pope under his feet; in another he was in the act of plunging a dagger into the throat of a King; in another he was tearing up the Holy Scriptures. At the same time every kind of story was circulated that could cast dishonour on the Society. One day the General had been imprisoned in St. Angelo, another day he had effected his escape, on another he had left the Society; the Pope had given the King of Portugal leave to execute the guilty Jesuits, but *modis non nimis barbaris;* ten Jesuits had been burned in Lisbon, and the like.

On December 1, 1758, the following letter was written from Rome and circulated through Spain—

The General of the Jesuits, who used to hear the confessions of the nephew of His Holiness and of the Cardinal Secretary of State, and other confessors of the Society, have been dismissed, and forbidden access to the Pontifical palace. His Holiness has forbidden all the Cardinals to confess to any father of the Society. He has commanded the Rector of Padua, whom he had called to Rome, to leave the city immediately. He has withdrawn his nephews from the Roman Seminary. He has taken from the Jesuits all the Professors' Chairs they had in Rome, and has deprived them of permission to hear confessions. Some attribute this disgrace to their rashness in defending the errors of their Father Berruyer, others to a letter received from Cardinal Saldanha by His Holiness, others to motives which it is necessary to bury in the most profound silence. Whatever the case be, no one can doubt the certainty of the fact or the gravity of the case, when the Holy Father, who is so kindly disposed to them, takes such severe measures. The consent of all the Princes for their suppression is expected; most have already given it. Here a book is in wide circulation with the title, *Historical Problem.* . . . The proofs of the author are all original, that is, authentic instruments of the same Society, with all the documents and facts proved.

The only foundation for any of the falsehoods of which this letter is composed is the fact that Cardinal Torregiani, who succeeded Achinto in the office of Secretary of State, had previously been a penitent of Father Ricci, but, on his

nomination to that office, partly no doubt from prudence, and partly owing to distance, ceased to confess to him.

On January 27, 1759, the Calvinist journal, the *Gazette* of Erlang, contained the following letter from Rome—'Here everyone is conspiring against the Jesuits, and we hear it as a certain fact that several Cardinals, and in particular Cardinal Spinelli, are making strong representations to His Holiness to induce him to suspend the whole Society from the sacred ministry of the confessional and the pulpit throughout the Christian world.' The editor Le Gros, himself a Calvinist, then subjoins the following reflection—

> But what has been the fault of these Reverend Fathers scattered throughout Europe, supposing that some of them have passed the limits of their duty in Paraguay or Portugal? Every one must confess that this celebrated Order has given to the world prodigious talent and eminent men, who, by the consummate erudition of their writings, by their excellent education of youth, and by their exquisite political counsels, have done the greatest service to the public. It is no less certain that they have notably extended the Catholic Faith by their unwearied labours, with no small danger of their lives in the missions, and that they have many times supported the trembling Pontifical throne. But perhaps this is exactly the cause of the envy and hatred from which they are suffering. Enemies increase in proportion with merit.

Without endorsing all that is contained in this extract, it is a satisfaction to see an impartial witness, and he an enemy of the Church, acknowledging the true character of the zeal that burst forth in such a mighty flame against the Society.

Whilst all this was going on in the capital of the Christian world, the Jansenistic organ in Paris, the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, was constantly pouring forth its abuse in concert with the calumnies of its agents in Rome. Words seemed at length to fail it; human vice was not black enough. It at length could find no other name for these men, consecrated to the service of God, against no one of whom a crime was proved, than that of 'incarnate demons.' At the same time Portugal was being inundated with works of a similar kind, chiefly turning on the

affairs of Paraguay and the attempt on the life of the King. Of these pamphlets the writer of a letter published in Venice in 1761 says—'The multiplication of these pamphlets is incredible; I should put them at two hundred thousand. But,' he adds, 'numerous as they are, they are in reality but few, for they nearly all contain the same things in various forms, and many of them are only a reproduction of what was written in the previous century by Saint-Cyran, Nicole, and other notorious abettors of the Jansenists, and publicly condemned by the Church.'

During all this time the Holy Father remained quiet. He continued to show to Father Ricci the same kindness as to the other Generals, visited the Gesù from time to time, but abstained from any open act in defence of the Society. Seven months had passed without an answer from the King of Portugal to his letter announcing his exaltation, and this circumstance, added to the threats of Almada, made him fear seriously a breach with that Court. Meanwhile, many Bishops of Spain wrote to him to implore his assistance to check the deluge of evil books, all tending to defamation of the Society, with which that country was being flooded. At length he considered he could remain silent no longer, and, without communicating his design to any one else, he directed Cardinal Torregiani to write to Cardinal Spinola, his Nuncio in Spain, urging him to exert every effort to put a stop to the evil. This letter, which is dated February 22, 1759, sufficiently shows the sentiments of the Holy Father regarding the Society. It is as follows—

His Holiness has received information, through letters received from various Bishops of Spain, not only that envious and audacious men are carrying on a cruel war against the Society of Jesus, by spreading about in Madrid and other parts of the kingdom, as well as in other places, a number of malicious and defamatory pamphlets, but that they even make it a special boast that these books have been approved and forwarded from Rome, where, it is said, there are serious thoughts of suppressing the Society, and that it is not wished that the Bishops should confide to the Jesuits the administration of the Sacrament of Penance and the spiritual direction of souls.

To say nothing of the falsehood of the imposture, His Holiness has considered with great grief the pernicious effects that would be produced among the faithful by the discredit of so respectable a body of religious, who have deserved so well of the Church, by whose Institute every kind of exercise useful for religion and the salvation of souls is being continually promoted.

His Holiness desires them to undeceive all who may have allowed themselves to be prejudiced by similar impostures, and to explain to them clearly his mind, as well as the spirit of the Catholic Church, which is very far from allowing the oppression and defamation of a body of religious so completely dedicated by their Institute to the propagation of the greater glory of God, to the good education of youth, to the improvement of morals, and the salvation of souls. You are recommended to write to the Bishops to provide suitable remedies for such great evils. It would also be opportune carefully to warn those whose duty it is to guard against the introduction and dissemination of bad books, not to tolerate any which prejudice so conspicuous a religious body, especially with falsehood and calumny, to the injury of souls.

To this the Nuncio answered, March 19, that it was too true that many such books as were referred to in the Cardinal Secretary's letter had been spread about the country, but he informed His Holiness that the Bishops had exerted themselves to prevent their further promulgation, and that the Bishop of Cartagena, head of the Supreme Council of Castile, was distinguished for his zeal in this matter, and that, since the warning from the Holy Father, his zeal against so scandalous a disorder had been greatly increased. He then adds—

According to the orders received, I have already begun and shall continue opportunely to insinuate and explain, wherever it can be done prudently, the most just sentiments of the Holy Father regarding so respectable and well-deserving an Institute as that of the Jesuit Fathers, without however losing sight, in carrying this out, of the circumspection and prudence which the circumstances absolutely require.[4]

In consequence of this admonition from the Holy See the Supreme Council of Spain condemned the *Brief Relation*, the

[4] De Ravignan, vol. i. pp. 424, 425.

Impious Errors, the *Appendix* to the *Relation*, and other principal libels, and on the 3rd of May the Inquisitor-General of Spain condemned a number of books, which he ordered to be burned. I shall give the terms of the condemnation of some of these in the words of the sacred tribunal for the sake of the testimony which they contain. It describes them as designed 'to foment discord, to disturb the peace and tranquillity of souls and consciences, and especially to discredit the holy Institute of the Society of Jesus, and the religious who laudably profess it with notorious benefit to the Church.' The first is the *Verdad Desnuda*, by Cæsar Digner, already condemned in 1657 as 'scandalous, destructive of the peace, full of falsehoods and enormous injuries to the holy Society of Jesus, translated and published with the sole intention of injuring and discrediting it.' Next to this we find *Letters of Palafox to the Provincial of the Society*, and others entitled *Continuation of Letters*, 'published with the sole end of calumniating and discrediting the same holy Society . . . against the intention and good memory of the Prelate to whom they are attributed, whom we have no intention to prejudice,' &c. *Opinion of the Congregation on the Memorial of the General of the Jesuits*, because this opinion is falsely attributed to the Congregation, and is published only to revive and enkindle discords.' *Short account of the latest acts and proceedings of the Jesuits of Portugal*, because it contains propositions which are false, seditious, destructive of peace, and injurious to the holy Society of Jesus.' *Motives why the King has expelled the Jesuits from the Palace*, 'because it is full of propositions which are false, scandalous, calumnious, and injurious to the Society of Jesus.' *The Monarchy of the Solipsi, translated from the original Latin of Melchior Inchoffer, of the Society of Jesus*, to which are added a treatise on the idea of the *Government of the Jesuits*, *Requests presented to Clement VIII.*, *Instruction to Princes on the Government of the Jesuits*, *Extract from the treatise on the things which are worthy of blame in the Society of Jesus*, by Father John Mariana, 'because these works are falsely attributed to those who are said to be their authors, and have been previously

forbidden by repeated decrees of the Holy Office, and because both the notes which have been added and the works themselves contain many propositions respectively false, calumnious, rash, erroneous, savouring of heresy, and injurious to the Institute of the Society of Jesus and its members.' The *Memorial presented to his Majesty by the creditors of the celebrated bankruptcy of the College of the Society of Jesus in Seville* (contained in the letter of Palafox to Innocent X.), and other similar pamphlets grouped with it, are condemned as 'scandalous, calumnious, and gravely injurious to the same Society.' Several other publications are mentioned and condemned; but what I have named are sufficient to show that at the very time that Carvalho was persecuting the Society for its pretended crimes, the books which he himself had disseminated to gain the public support for his tyranny, and which formed the groundwork of his action, were with the sanction of the Holy Father being publicly condemned and burned as scandalous and calumnious by the Inquisition of Spain and the Supreme Council of that country, which could not fail to have been intimately acquainted with all that concerned the Jesuits of Paraguay and Portugal. I have said that these libels were disseminated by Carvalho. The *Impious Errors* he himself sent in the name of the King to the Primate, and he tells the Bishops in his circular that he had caused the *Brief Relation* to be printed; and I shall now show to what a length the system of secretly printing and disseminating libels against the Society was carried under the authority of the Crown of Portugal at this time. The *Impious Errors* were printed in Lisbon. For some days before the 19th of January, 1759, it was known that the press of Rodriguez was working night and day, and the Fathers knew something was forthcoming to add to their cup of bitterness. But a large portion of the pamphlets with which Europe was inundated were printed in Rome. To this we have the testimony of one of the chief actors in the plot. It is one of those strange stories which show how often it happens that what is done in secret is one day published on the house-top.

After the chief actors in these events had passed from the

scene, when Joseph I. was no more, when Pombal had been disgraced, and the Princess Mary of Brazil had ascended the throne, on the 12th of March, 1788, an aged man who gave his name as Nicholas Pagliarini presented the following memorial to the young Queen—

His Excellency Don Francis de Almada having in 1757 received orders from the Court (of Portugal) to have the *Brief Relation* printed, to be presented to the Pope Benedict XIV. and the Cardinals, and not having been able to obtain permission to do it in Rome, the Cardinal Alberico Achinto,[5] Secretary of State, suggested to him the idea, not only of having it printed outside of the States of the Pope, but what is more, of making use of Nicholas Pagliarini, who, having correspondents in Tuscany, could put himself at the service of the Court of his most faithful Majesty with all the desired exactness and care. Pagliarini was in consequence sent by the Secretary of State to Don Francis de Almada, who, through the hands of Father Antonio Rodriguez, his secretary, gave him the manuscript, which in fifteen days came back from Lucca all printed off. The copies were distributed to the Pope and Cardinals, and the celebrated Brief of reform addressed to Cardinal Saldanha appeared very soon after. Benedict XIV. died on the 3rd of May, 1758, and during the conclave the news of the Brief arrived from Lisbon, and this too was printed by Pagliarini by orders of the Ambassador Almada. Clement XIII. was created Pope, and immediately the Father General of the Jesuits presented to him a memorial in which he begged to have the Brief withdrawn. Almada having got a copy of this memorial, thought of refuting it; but remembering the difficulties he had met with under Benedict XIV. in securing the printing of the *Brief Relation*, the secretary, Father Antonio, made arrangements with Nicholas Pagliarini to secure means for printing everything which could second the views of his most faithful Majesty. It was agreed to establish a little printing-press in the Ambassador's palace, as the Ambassadors of Spain and France had already done in their own residences. It was their example which gave Pagliarini the idea of establishing this press, and he executed his design with so much secrecy and circum-

[5] It is to be noted that the words of Pagliarini, like those of all such persons, are to be taken with caution except when they bear testimony against themselves. He might have had his own reasons for saying that this proposition came from Cardinal Achinto. We have said enough to render it improbable.

spection, that absolutely nothing about it transpired. When as an answer to the Memorial the celebrated *Reflections*,[6] drawn up by Mgr. John Bottari, were to come out, on a notice from the secretary Don Antonio, they were printed and distributed in Rome by means of the Genoa post, with such care that the Jesuits and Cardinal Torregiani believed that the book had been printed at Genoa, and complained of it to the Senate of the Republic. Seeing the universal applause with which the *Reflections* were received, Father Urban Tosetti, of the Scolopie, undertook to compose the *Appendix*,[7] and the above-named Mgr. Bottari wrote the *Critique*.[8]

From the same press issued everything the Court wished to have published in Rome; the matter was abundant and interesting. Everything was executed under the care and the direction of Pagliarini, and without his receiving any recompense. So far from receiving even the smallest sum from the Ambassador for his constant attention to the printing of these works, he did not even obtain the reimbursement of his expenses.

It was impossible to conceal any longer from the vigilance of the Jesuits and Torregiani the secret of our press, and the very fact of Pagliarini being seen to go every day to the palace of the Ambassador and remain there a long time, was sufficient to expose all. He consequently became the point of their attack, and was destined to be the victim of their fury. Pagliarini asked the Minister for a patent for his defence, but instead of a patent they gave him a card of office, by which he was commissioned to arrange the Royal Archives; but in the trial the judges took no account of this. In 1760 occurred the rupture between the most faithful Court and the Roman Ministry. The Ambassador, Almada, left Rome, and Pagliarini, who was left abandoned to the vengeance of the Jesuits and the Secretary of State, Cardinal Torregiani, was recommended by the Ambassador to Cardinal Neri Corsini, protector of the Crown of Portugal. But this recommendation did not prevent poor Pagliarini from being arrested on the evening of December 11, 1760, and secretly consigned to the New Prisons, to remain there till November 14, 1761.

[6] *Reflessioni di un Portoghese sopra il Memoriale presentato dai P.P. Gesuiti alla Santita di Clemente XIII.*

[7] *Appendice alle Riflessioni di un Portoghese sul Memoriale del P. Generale dei Gesuiti.*

[8] *Critica di un Romano alle Riflessioni di un Portoghese sopra il Memoriale presentato dai P.P. Gesuiti al Papa Clemente XIII. distesa in una lettera mandata a Lisbona.*

It is impossible to describe the rigour employed in the *Perquiratur* made by the authorities in his house. The officers searched for a long time in his shop, though it was filled with books of all kinds, without finding a single leaf which could serve as the foundation of an accusation. After one hundred and eight days of painful confinement he was liberated, and was then able with his friends to take measures for his defence. It is sufficient to read the two printed allegations, bearing the signature of the Advocate, Gaetano Centomani, but written by his friend the Abbate Nicolo Rossi, secretary of the house of Corsini, to see with what nobleness and courage, throughout all the examinations he had to undergo, Pagliarini sustained the dignity of the Court of Portugal and preserved the secret so jealously intrusted to him, never to manifest the authors of the works already mentioned, which was the only object of the search of the Jesuits and Torregiani, in order to exert against them the most cruel vengeance. It was in vain that the magistrates tempted him, during the trial, with promises to send him at once to his own house if he would make known the authors.

After a year's imprisonment, Pagliarini's trial was finished, and to the scandal of all honest men, by the vote of Mgr. Braschi, now Pius VI., the sentence was passed, which condemned him to seven years of the galleys, although four voices had declared him innocent. Nevertheless, Clement XIII., though predisposed to condemn, was so far from being persuaded of the justice of the sentence, that the following Saturday he pardoned Pagliarini, and set him free without any condition or restriction. After November 15, 1761, Pagliarini remained in Rome, fêted by every one, and chiefly by the Minister of Spain, Don Emmanuel de Roda, until February 7, 1762, when his most faithful Majesty Joseph I., by a decree sent by a special courier to Don Ayres de Sa, his Ambassador at Naples, had him called to that Court by the Marquis Tanucci in the name of his Sicilian Majesty. Having arrived there he was informed of the favours which the most faithful King had granted him in recompense for the services he had rendered to his crown. He was declared Chevalier Fidalgo of the Household, Secretary of the Embassy, with a pension for life of 100,000 reis per month,[9] and a present of 12,000 crusados[10] for a becoming outfit, and with orders to the Ambassador to keep him in his house, and treat him as a Portuguese Fidalgo. Pagliarini remained in Naples from February, 1762, till November, 1763, when, peace having been

[9] £28 2*s.* 6*d.* [10] A crusado is 2*s.* 3*d.*

restored, Don Ayres was sent as Ambassador to Madrid. The Marquis Tanucci exerted himself with Don Ayres to keep Pagliarini at Naples as Chargé d'Affaires, but the Minister having written on this point to Count de Oeiras, he received for answer that the King wished to know Pagliarini, and he was to bring him with him to Lisbon. Pagliarini left Naples with Don Ayres, and travelled to Turin, where he was received with special kindness by the King of Sardinia and the Duke of Savoy, by whom he was well known, as he had been at that Court in 1755, and had been loaded with favours by the sovereign, even during the time of his detention. He arrived in Lisbon March 15, 1764, and was received with great kindness by the Count de Oeiras, and lived in the house of Don Ayres de Sa for more than a year, constantly frequenting the Minister's residence and the Court. After the departure of Don Ayres for Madrid, Pagliarini changed his quarters to the house of Don Francis de Almada, and when this Ambassador was sent back to Rome, a convenient dwelling was given to Pagliarini by order of the King in the College of Nobles, the library of which was put under his care, and he remained there until its management was transferred to the *Mésa Censoria.* Pagliarini then had his lodging at the Royal Press. Besides the services rendered in Rome by Pagliarini to the Crown of Portugal, which are proved by documents and depositions taken on occasion of his trial, and which caused so much evil to his person and interests, immediately on his arrival in Lisbon, he was employed by the Count de Oeiras to arrange his library and cabinet, and remained in his house several months.

He was intrusted with the printing of the *Chronological Deduction*, in three volumes in quarto. He had to choose the printer, and even by order of the Minister translated the same work into Italian, which was also printed in five volumes in octavo. He twice, by order of his Majesty, made a plan for the establishment of a Royal Press. The project was executed, the printer and assistant were chosen according to his wish, and the establishment was arranged as it exists now. He was declared General Director, with an annual salary of 2000 crusados, house, and two copies of every book printed.

When peace was concluded with Rome, in 1770, Pagliarini continued to be employed by the Minister to treat with the Nuncio of the Pope, as the events which took place at that time prove. But under the Pontificate of Clement XIV, when there was

question of the suppression of the Jesuits, the Pope himself suggested to the Marquis of Pombal to make use of Pagliarini for the translation of documents into Italian, as Almada, having to employ mercenary assistants in Rome for that purpose, could not count very securely on their work. The King, seeing this, replied that Pagliarini, his Secretary of Legation, had every title to be admitted into the Cabinet, after the numerous proofs he had given of his uprightness and attachment to the Court. From this time the Marquis of Pombal began to make use of him for the most delicate business with Rome. He wrote the documents in Portuguese, then wrote them out fair, then translated them into Italian, and after they had been examined by the Marquis, copied them out in the form in which they were to be presented to the Pope. This work occupied him from morning to midnight for fifteen days, for he had to send off the couriers and write other letters as occasion demanded. In the office of the Secretary of State there ought to be papers in the handwriting of Pagliarini, and Don John Gomez de Aranjo and Josè Leitzeb would be excellent witnesses of this, to say nothing of others.

Nicholas Pagliarini, who is now seventy-two years of age, of which thirty have been spent in the service of the Court of Portugal, knowing that the august Sovereign vouchsafes graciously to consider the services of persons who have deserved well of the Crown, and having a nephew named Thomas, who is applying successfully to ecclesiastical studies, a young man recommended by his good conduct and excellent character, and capable of rendering good service to his most faithful Majesty, takes the liberty of presenting him at the throne of your Majesty, and begs that at his own death he may be employed to fill his place as royal agent, which he is willing to do without any emolument, being content with the good perquisites attached to the office.[11]

I have felt it to be impossible to abridge this extraordinary document without depriving my readers of a valuable insight into the secret ways by which the events upon which I am writing were brought about. We have here, not only the services performed by Pagliarini in the plot against the Society, but the secret intrigue by which the confidential agent of a Crown

[11] I have translated this document from the French of Crétineau Joly in his *Clement XIV. et les Jésuites*, pp. 68, seq. The original manuscript is in the archives of the Society.

accredited to the Holy See conspired with a petty printer to inundate Europe with scandalous books, and even gave his own palace as the workshop from which all this infamy flowed. But it is far more sad to see not only ministers of every king in Southern Europe, and even ecclesiastics in high position, but kings themselves lavishing their caresses on a man whose only title to esteem was the success with which he had evaded the vigilance of the police of Rome in sending forth books of infamy into the world. We see too, to what extent the kings of the earth had already begun to handle the weapon of conspiracy, which was so soon to be wielded with such deadly effect to their own ruin. There is also in the reasons advanced in favour of the young ecclesiastic a mockery of what is just, and a prostitution of what is sacred, that touches the saddest features of this deplorable period.

In the preceding document mention is made of the *Chronological Deduction.* This work belongs to a later period, but as I have already had to speak of it, and it belongs to the subject before me, a short notice of it will not be out of place here. Theiner tells us that Clement XIII. was firmly convinced that the King of Portugal had let himself be drawn into his war against the Society, solely by his Minister, and that Joseph de Seabra da Sylva, fiscal advocate, undertook to justify his sovereign on this head. According to him this was the origin of the book of which I am speaking, which was first published in 1767. The exact title, translated from the Italian edition, is as follows: '*Chronological and Analytical Deduction*, in which is shown through the whole series of all the governments of the Portuguese monarchy, from the time of John III. to the present, the horrible ruin which the Society called of Jesus has produced in Portugal and its dominions, by means of a plan and system persevered in without alteration from the time in which it was introduced into the kingdom, to that in which it was proscribed and expelled by the just, wise, and prudent law of September 3, 1759, given to light by the Doctor Joseph de Seabra da Sylva . . . to serve as an instruction and form part of the Appeal interposed by the Minister,

and pending before the Royal Presence of the Sovereign on the indispensable necessity which calls for a prompt remedy to some of the most grevious evils by which, as long as they exist, the royal authority is disgraced, and the public tranquillity is destroyed. . . . By order of his Majesty.' As there were at this time no Jesuits in Portugal, it is evident from this title that the work was written to bring about the general suppression of the Society. The Italian translation of this work by Pagliarini was published at Genoa and was spread widely through Italy, and was even sent to Rome to be distributed among the Cardinals. In 1771, it was again printed at Lisbon in Latin, with a dedication to Pombal by the translator Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo. In the dedication it is said that it is published by Seabra by orders of Pombal, and such as he received it from the Minister himself. Theiner, as we have seen, speaks of this work as being the production of Seabra himself, but he repeatedly denied having any part in it. In the dedication above alluded to, Pereira clearly attributes it to Pombal himself with a flattery so nauseous as fitly to illustrate the slavery of the Minister's creatures. 'This work,' he says, 'so worthy of immortality, has been thus brought to light under the name of the Fiscal, but to any reader who remarks the admirable arrangement of the matter, the ingenious choice of the facts, the solidity of the thoughts, and the elegance and brilliancy of the style, there can remain no doubt that you alone, in whom all is great, vast and sublime, have been capable of composing a work so perfect in every way.' And he concludes thus: 'Receive then, most excellent lord, your own work in receiving mine. And do you who in your *History of Portugal* have made known in our own language to our countrymen what the Jesuits are, allow me in publishing this Latin translation of your work, to make known to all foreign nations how great are you.' Of this work, Father Theiner wrote in 1836, in the *Annales des Sciences religieuses*, 'Whoever will undertake to read these works of Seabra will be astonished at the unparalleled wickedness of this man. Jansenism was incapable of carrying further its dark enterprize of falsehood, of hypocrisy,

and religious hatred. This book surpasses every other of its kind, even the French work entitled, *Extrait des assertions*, inspired by a blind conspiracy not only against the Society, but against the Church.'[12] And a little lower down: 'Every honest and generous mind must fly from such monstrous falsehoods and calumnies as are brought forward by Seabra, not only in violation of all conscience, but in opposition to the most notorious facts. Caprice and malevolence have here passed the limits, I will not say of probability, but even of possibility;' and again, 'What are we to say when we find Seabra saying with all his pathetic gravity, that the Jesuits drove from Portugal all learned men whether among the clergy or the laity?'[13] When at a later period Theiner himself began to write against the Society, he still acknowledged that the book was 'full of fabrications and the vilest falsehoods;' but adds that 'it contains charges whose complete refutation would be no easy task.' He forgets that he had already told us the value of these charges himself.

But the picture of all this wickedness would still be incomplete if I did not add to this evidence a letter of Pagliarini, written to Cardinal Andrea Corsini, describing the means made use of by him to spread the libellous pamphlets in Rome. It is as follows—

The printing of the *Chronological Deduction* is at length finished. By order of his Excellency Count de Oeiras, I have had sent to you by way of Genoa a number of copies corresponding with what you had of the first part. As the former copies were addressed to your Eminence by our Consul Piaggio, to be distributed at the Court, and supposing that the same can be done with these, and wishing to remove all occasion of scandal at the Quirinal; I have therefore formed several parcels, which can be conveyed to their address without any one knowing what they contain. Your Eminence will only have to see that they get safely from Civita Vecchia to Rome. Your Eminence knows well what these parcels contain, and understands what may be their consequences and

[12] De Ravignan, vol. ii. pp. 37, 38.
[13] *Ibid.* p. 169; Boëro, *Osservazioni sopra Theiner*, p. 111.

the prejudice that may arise from them to the Court of Rome, which by persevering in its system is rapidly approaching total ruin.[14]

This letter needs no comment. I leave this sad subject with feelings of inexpressible grief at the disgrace of a great name, and still more of a sacred character, plotting with a printer of scandalous books for the degradation of the Holy See. I would fain have hid his shame, but these things are before the world, and are necessary to show by what means these wicked plots were carried to their accomplishment. I have only again to remind the reader that the scandal of a few individuals is no opprobium to a holy state. It only illustrates what must long since have happened to it if that which is human in it had not been supported by something that is Divine. It is better too that a few individuals should bear the burthen of their own guilt, than that calumny should be attached to a whole order of the Church to the scandal of many souls. It is not surprising that Cardinal Corsini, as is known by his correspondence with Pagliarini, was pensioned by the Court of Portugal, to indemnify him for the loss of favour with the Holy Father, which his unworthy conduct produced.

[14] Crétineau-Joly, p. 69.

CHAPTER IX.

Portugal and the Holy See.

ALTHOUGH three of the Fathers had been officially declared heads of the conspiracy, for some reason not quite free from mystery the shedding of blood was for a time stayed. Whether it was the prohibition of the King, or the fact that even the Minister shrunk from the public execution of three religious of such venerable age and universal reputation of sanctity, or the hope of obtaining still fuller powers from the Holy See, or a desire to show his deference, by awaiting a formal permission, which produced this result, is not quite certain. But care was taken to keep all the Fathers of Portugal in the most terrible suspense. Their Provincial and several of their chief men were in dungeons; three were declared worthy of the most terrible death; the Bishops had been ordered to guard their flocks against their pestilential doctrines, and a decree of January 19, declaring the whole Society guilty of the conspiracy, had ordered the sequestration of all they possessed. It was pretended that the disposition of their property was to await the decision of the Holy Father, but it was in reality sold without delay, in the public square, to the highest bidder.

The confiscation began in Lisbon on February 5, a day dear to the Society as signalling the first martyrdom of its children in Japan, and extended through the Provinces according to the rate at which the royal commissioners travelled. The persecution was now open and violent; every day brought some new imprisonment, or some additional act of the wrath of the Minister. Not only were the Fathers struck dumb with consternation, but all honest men looked on with amazement,

seeking for some intelligible ground on which to base this excess of despotism. Everywhere the officials treated the Fathers with the utmost severity. Ever since December 13, their houses throughout Portugal had been guarded by soldiers: sentinels were now doubled, and everywhere the strictest search was made under pretence of a suspicion of arms. Exact inventories were made of everything, and a paul a day was assigned for the support of each religious. Until the goods in store in the various houses could be sold, everything was locked up and strictly guarded. If the sacristan needed oil for the lamp of the church, he had to go to take it in the company of a soldier, who stood by to see that he took no more than was enough for that day, and locked the door when he had finished. When the Fathers went to the church to say Mass, a soldier had to accompany them. The Superiors had to give up all the money in their hands, and furnish an account of all that was owed them, while their simple furniture was publicly sold in the square before their windows.

The College of St. Antonio had been so injured by the earthquake that the Fathers had raised a temporary building in which the Procurators of the six missions of Goa, Japan, China, Malabar, Brazil, and Maranhão resided till they could build a College for the missions, for which they had already collected the money. This shed had been carefully guarded by soldiers since December 13. On the morning of February 21, the inmates were roused from sleep at an unusual hour, and were surprised to find a sentinel already placed at the door of each room. The brothers were taken, as soon as they were up, to prisons that had been built for male-factors sent from India, and the Fathers to the fortress of St. Julian. No questions were asked them, and they never knew any reason for their imprisonment except the fact of their being Jesuits. In the house there were, besides the money destined for the new building, many objects belonging to the missions—chalices and other sacred vessels, the fruits of the alms of the faithful, destined to be instruments of grace for souls in distant regions. These were all broken up and turned into

coin for the wants of the exhausted treasury. Every College in the country had its turn of similar exactions, the only difference being in the greater or less severity of the agents employed.

At the same time satires and libels were spread in all directions. Virulent attacks were published against the King and fathered on the Society, who were all shut up and guarded by sentinels, nor could have published such things had they wished; while pretended trials were circulated in which Jesuits were represented as convicted of crimes which had never existed. The following fact is an instance among many of the artifices used to discredit them. A notice purporting to be taken from the Neapolitan papers was placarded throughout Lisbon. It was as follows: 'Naples, May 28. The Cardinal Archbishop, with a Minister of the King, paid a visit to the house of the Jesuits shortly after the death of Father Pépé, who had borne the reputation of sanctity, and found in his cell 600 ounces of gold, bills of exchange for 50,000 ducats, 1600 lbs. of wax, 10 vases of Dutch tobacco, 4 cases of Tartaric tobacco, 200 silk handkerchiefs, and 300,000 ducats in money. The same Father had ordered a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary of massive silver, of the size of life, to be placed on a high pyramid in front of the Jesuits' church.' On inquiry being made, it was found that no such visit had ever been made, that no such notice had ever appeared in Naples, and that the whole story had been invented in Lisbon, to excite the passions by the report of the riches of the Jesuits. Carvalho was in a perplexity on account of the large number of young men in the Society, some of them belonging to the highest families, and many also conspicuous for their talents and attainments, and though bent on exiling the Fathers, he feared to exasperate the people by sending these youths out of the country. He was aware, too, how great a loss to the nation their banishment would be; but to keep them in prison was an expense to the treasury. He did his best then to separate them from the Society; but continual vexations, severe privations, the constant presence of soldiers, and threats of exile and dungeons had no effect on these generous youths

The Holy Father had written to the King, on July 6, to announce his election to the Chair of St. Peter, and by an unpardonable neglect the Minister had failed to make in the name of his Majesty the ordinary congratulatory acknowledgment, which common civility, not to speak of etiquette, required. He found himself thus in the unpleasant position of supplying this omission, and at the same time laying before the Pontiff a matter most ungrateful to his tender heart.

On April 20, he despatched to the Pope a long memoir in which all the accusations against the Society in Brazil were repeated. He complained that the government of these religious was become so powerful by the usurpation of the personal liberty, and of the goods and commerce of the Indians, that it was almost impossible to reduce them; that the Indians were in such a state of subordination to them, that they would rather let themselves be cut to pieces than transgress the smallest of their commands, or allow Spaniards or Portuguese to enter their territory. He spoke of the 'atrocities, seditions, and open war of these religious at the cost of twenty-six million crowns, as described in the *Brief Relation*, drawn up at the office of the Secretary of State.' 'Notwithstanding the reform granted by Benedict XIV., the pride and obstinacy of these religious had carried them from day to day to such great excesses and horrible scandals, that it had finally plunged them into the last extremes to which human misery can reach. They continued in such notorious obstinacy and disobedience to the Holy See, spreading their calumnious and abominable impostures in all the Courts of Europe, and preparing for still greater scandals, that the Patriarch was obliged to forbid them to hear confessions or preach.' He then proceeds to describe the plot of September 3, and tells the Holy Father that 'three months of circumspect and exact inquiry and efficacious meditation and active diligence proved that it was planned by the Superiors of the Society;' that the 'Colleges and professed houses and residences of the Society were the poisonous and pestilential pools in which the infamous men who were guilty of this parricide drank in the counsels and doctrine which led

them to execute it;' and that the 'most respected and powerful men in the Order were the most abominable and obstinate leaders of this infernal conspiracy.' He describes how guards of soldiers had been placed round the houses of the Fathers to save them from the vengeance of the people; he speaks of 'the most conclusive proofs of their guilt from letters and other original writings intercepted or taken from them, from confessions and depositions of many ocular witnesses, upon which the sentence was based' (which however were never produced), and adds that 'his Majesty had ordered that the accused should be repeatedly heard, and had appointed one of the first senators of the Court of Appeal to defend them. In consequence, his Majesty had found it necessary to imprison the most guilty, to separate the rest from contact with his faithful subjects, and to sequestrate all the goods of the Fathers as enemies of the royal person and of the State.' This memorial concludes with the following piece of what in the mouth of this man can only be called the most loathsome hypocrisy. He says, the most faithful King hopes that His Holiness will recognize the indispensable necessity under which he is of reflecting on his duty to God our Lord, on the indispensable obligations of the throne on which the Divine goodness has placed him, on his duty to his own royal authority, and on the expectations of the other monarchs and potentates of Europe, whose sovereignty was offended, and would have reason to complain if it could be read in history that such atrocious misdeeds had been allowed to pass without the most severe chastisement. He was, moreover, bound to consider the public tranquillity of his dominions, the universal scandal of all civilized nations, and finally the claims of the most exemplary and faithful people whom God had committed to his care, who generally and with one accord, from the greatest cities to the smallest hamlets, demanded justice against the criminals who had thus stained their fidelity, wishing to bury it under the ruins of the whole monarchy. Upon this he proposes, with the approbation of His Holiness, to apply to such inveterate evils the most extreme remedies, as described in a letter signed with the

King's own hand, upon which as coming from a most devoted and obedient son of a most enlightened and loving father he begs the Apostolic benediction, asking his cooperation to put an end to such extreme evils, and the scandal which these religious have given to the whole Christian world.[1]

With falsehoods like this Carvalho endeavoured to deceive the Holy Father into an approbation of the design he had now formed of expelling the Society from all his dominions. We have not the letter of the King.[2] The contents are sufficiently known from the reference here made to extreme remedies, and from the answer of the Pope, from which we may gather that he already suggested the entire suppression of the Society. With this memorial there was sent also a petition from the Procurator Fiscal, dated April 15, in which the Holy Father was reminded that his predecessor, Gregory XIII., in his Apostolic letter of October 25, 1583, on an occasion of much less gravity, had declared, 'that wicked and seditious men were unworthy of ecclesiastical immunity,' and had given permission that those who had conspired against the person or State of the King of Portugal, even though in Sacred Orders, should be handed over to the secular court. From this occasion was taken to pray that the same might be extended to all who had on this occasion been found guilty, or who in future may make any attempt against the person or State of the most faithful Kings of Portugal. What he asked for then was in substance that, for the future, ecclesiastics should be subject to his power no less than seculars; the effect of which may be easily understood if we remember that an insult against the Minister had already been made an offence of treason.

These despatches reached Rome on May 22, but were not presented to the Holy Father, who was then at Castel Gandolfo, till June 7. Almada refused to treat with Torregiani on account of the expressions favourable to

[1] *Raccolta d'Opuscoli*, p. 147.

[2] The editor of the *Raccolta*, who is a strong partisan of Pombal, promises to give it at another time. There were probably reasons for not publishing the true demand made to the Holy Father.

the Jesuits which he had employed in his letter to the Spanish Nuncio, which he looked on as an insult to his master. The Pope, to remove as far as possible every difficulty, yielded to his objections and appointed Cardinal Cavalchini to treat with him on this business. He pointed out that the judges of the tribunal *da Consciencia* were nearly all military men, and by no means fit to be appointed judges of ecclesiastics, but consented to apply the Brief of Gregory XIII. to this particular case. These discussions naturally created delay in the Pope's answer, which did not leave Rome till the beginning of August.

In the meantime, step followed step in the work of the destruction of the Society in Portugal. On June 28, the King signed a decree by which all education was taken out of its hands. In this decree, after a pompous exordium on the importance of education and the cultivation of human letters, as the foundation of all science, he laments the sad decay of learning in Portugal, which he attributes to the 'obscure and wearisome method of the Society, and still more to the inflexible tenacity with which they adhere to it in spite of the evidence of truth; the effect of which is that the Portuguese cannot speak and write Latin and Greek with the neatness and ease acquired in all other nations which have abolished these methods.' He considers that these religious are the cause of the entire decadence of the knowledge of these languages, 'in spite of the invincible force of the example of the greatest men of all nations.' On these accounts he deprives them absolutely of all their schools, to such purpose, that from the day of the publication of this edict, 'all the classes which have been confided to them with such pernicious and fatal effect are to be considered extinct. Even the memory of such classes is to be abolished, as if they had never existed in my dominions, having given cause to such enormous injury and grave scandals.' He then commands that the ancient methods be reduced to 'simple terms, of greater clearness and facility, as is now the custom among the cultivated nations of Europe.' We then have rules for the directors of the studies, professors

of Latin grammar, Greek and Hebrew and rhetoric. The instruction for the professor of Latin grammar begins with these words: 'It has at all times been acknowledged that good education and the instruction of youth is an indispensable means for preserving Christian union and civil society.' It is enough to say here that the methods of the Society were laid aside; their classic works which had formed so many great men in every country, were banished from the schools. The grammars of Vossius, Schopp, and of Port Royal, were recommended instead of Alvarez, and the introduction of 'easy methods' replaced that sound training which disciplined the mind; and superficial knowledge even then began to take the place of education. 'Solid studies,' says the author of the *Anecdotes*, 'began to disappear, and frivolity and dissipation prepared the youth for the impressions of vice.' It was very easy for Carvalho to destroy, but to build up anything new was a more arduous task. Masters could not be found, or they were either unaccustomed to train youth, or unfit to be trusted with them, and in consequence the schools soon fell into a deplorable state, both as regards secular learning and religious conduct and instruction. The effect of the changes introduced into education by Carvalho is best described in a few sentences from the account given by Cardinal Pacca of his nunciature in Lisbon.

After telling us, as we have seen, that Carvalho corrupted and perverted education, he adds that on his arrival in Lisbon he found 'the magistrates all educated in the hotbed of schism under the evil maxims established in Coimbra, and that these, with their heads full of Jansenistical and Febronian principles, put every obstacle to the free exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.'[3] The really glorious period of Portugal, he tells us, lasted till the end of the reign of John III., and ended with the absorption of Portugal by Spain. 'After that time literature fell into decadence, though in the houses of several religious orders, and especially of the Society of Jesus, theology and other sacred sciences and pulpit eloquence

[3] P. 19.

were sustained with some applause even among the learned of foreign nations. All Portuguese writers speak of Father Vieira with a praise such as was never given to a Demosthenes or a Cicero. After the clergy had been debased by Joseph I., and the Jesuits had been expelled from the dominions of the Crown of Portugal, the decadence in every branch of science became more manifest and took greater proportions. During my sojourn in Portugal I never heard a single man of note in letters spoken of. As far as I am aware, no book of science or literature issued from the press which deserved the mention of foreign journals, and much less, which had the honour of being translated into a foreign language.'[4] And yet Cardinal Pacca did not leave Portugal till the year 1802, after a period of more than forty years had elapsed since the schools were taken from the Society, allowing full time for the regeneration of study which Carvalho professed to expect. It was not then the Society that had caused the decadence of literature, nor was it study that Carvalho sought to restore, but the principles of Jansenism and hatred of the Church, and especially of the See of Rome, as has been already seen.

The truth is, the discovery of America and the opening of the Indies to navigation had given such an impulse to commercial enterprize, that the whole energies of the people were diverted from literature and science to the newly-opened means of acquiring wealth. In addition to this, the luxury introduced by communication with the East, and still more the absorption of Portugal by Spain after the death of Sebastian, destroyed the energies of the people in every branch; but the decadence of literature at this period has been as much exaggerated as has its glory during the period which preceded it. The literary splendour of Portugal in the sixteenth century is almost all centred in the name of Camoens, and like its wonderful outburst of political power, may be considered as the offspring of transitory causes which, while they opened the East and the West to Portuguese enterprize, raised up the immortal

[4] P. 110.

genius of their poet and made this little State the most conspicuous of nations; but the effect on the country at large was detrimental to intellectual culture. It appears also from a letter of Cardinal Torregiani to the Nuncio in Paris, dated December 3, 1767, and quoted by Theiner,[5] that Portugal adopted the false system of isolation, and forbade its youth to study in foreign Universities. Notwithstanding this, the following centuries showed many excellent writers,[6] and these together with several learned Bishops educated in the Jesuit schools, who adorned the Church of Portugal, and the celebrated professors whom the University of Coimbra produced, are a sufficient answer to this accusation against the Society. Notwithstanding this, Theiner in his *Clement XIV.* wrote: 'The genius of Pombal was meanwhile worthily occupied in resuscitating the sacred and profane sciences, whose cultivation had been so shamefully neglected. The University of Coimbra received a form adapted to the wants of the age, and was also otherwise improved.'[7] It is strange he could have forgotten that he had previously written: 'The government of Pombal, and its consequences to Portugal, are the finest apology for the Society of Jesus. Under his tyrannical sway science fell into a state of barbarism, from which it has not even yet emerged.'[8] Was it history that changed between 1836 and 1854 or Father Theiner? We leave the reader to judge, with the help Cardinal Pacca has given us.

Not long after this, the Fathers were cast down by the report that the Holy Father, till now their only support on earth, had abandoned them to their enemies. It was a grievous blow, and might well, if the rumour had been true, have taken away

[5] Vol. i. p. 112. Theiner doubts the authenticity of this letter, but gives no reason except that the Cardinal had more judgment, but as his tendency here is to turn everything against the Society, this doubt needs some better authority.

[6] See Maynard, *The Studies and Teaching of the Society of Jesus*, p. 79. Baltimore, 1855.

[7] *Clement XIV.* vol. iii. p. 8. Firenze, 1854.

[8] *Annali di Religione*, tom. xi. p. 181. Cited by Boëro, *Osserv. sopra Theiner*, vol. i. p. 110.

the courage which yet remained to them. It is said that out of patience with waiting for the Pope's reply, Almada had forwarded to Lisbon a fictitious Brief. In this the Pope was made to determine the use to be made of the goods of the Colleges, and to give the King full power to punish even with death the guilty members of the Society. This imposture, says the author of the *Anecdotes*,[9] was printed in Rome, and circulated in Portugal and various parts of Europe. It is no wonder, after this, that Clement, wearied with the insolent behaviour of Almada, wrote to the King to beg to have him removed. He only met with the additional insult of receiving no answer to his request. It was probably in consequence of the reception of this document, that on the feast of St. Ignatius, July 31, on which day the Jesuits throughout the world were rejoicing in the grace and glory of their holy founder, as far as chains and sentinels and the pittance of one paul a day to cover all expenses would allow, Carvalho took occasion to publish the condemnation to death of the three Fathers named in the sentence as heads of the conspiracy, and still kept in prison, knowing no doubt that by striking such a blow on that day he would more securely pierce the heart of the whole Society. It was, however, only an empty threat, as no blood of the Society was shed for that. At length, however, on August 2, the Holy Father despatched a Brief to the King. In this he gave the necessary powers for the punishment of any who might have been found guilty of the attempt against the life of his Majesty, but refused to extend the permission to any future cases. At the same time, he wrote to the King, begging him to be mindful of clemency, to spare the blood of persons consecrated to God, and not to punish the innocent with the guilty. These letters, with other despatches, were enclosed in a packet, and sent to the Nuncio by an extraordinary messenger. At the same time, notice was given to Almada that he might if he wished take the opportunity to forward letters to his Court. Almada was angry, and expressed himself much offended that the despatches

[9] Vol. ii. p. 12.

had not been forwarded through him. He was determined, however, not to fail in his object, which was to obtain for his Minister possession of the Brief before it reached the Nuncio. He consequently despatched a messenger on the track of the Pope's courier, with orders to obtain the packet from him, and deliver it to Carvalho. The two messengers met at Aix in Provence, where, either through a fall from his horse, as was said, or the gold of Almada, as was strongly suspected, the Pope's courier remained, and Almada's agent proceeded with the despatches, and delivered them, as ordered, to the Minister. Carvalho kept them three days, read the Brief, resealed the packet, and delivered it to the Nuncio. It was the 22nd of August when the Nuncio received the packet, but he was confined to his bed with fever, and was unable to wait upon the Marquis da Cunha, the Foreign Secretary, till September 3. He was received by the Marquis with great complaints upon the manner in which the Pope had sent the despatches without causing them to pass through the hands of Almada, though it was no more than the King himself had done, as his letters had not passed through the hands of the Nuncio. He was consequently refused an audience. After several delays, he was at length admitted on the 11th, and, without any suspicion, presented the packet to the King. To his surprise, the King refused to accept the Brief, and told him to give him the letters, and to keep back the Brief, betraying by this answer the foul play of his Minister. The Nuncio replied that he had no authority to open a packet addressed to his Majesty, that it would be treason to do so, and asked the King to open the packet himself, and return the Brief if he did not wish to accept it. The King, however, who had been well schooled by Carvalho, refused to do this, and the Nuncio retired with the packet unopened. It was thought by some that the King was ignorant of the fabrication of the Brief already published, and that Carvalho had given him other excuses for not accepting this one. The author of the life of Pombal says nothing of the forged Brief, but says that the refusal of the Brief was an

artifice to keep the King from receiving the letters before he had issued the decree of expulsion of the Fathers. It was the effect of these letters that he feared, not that of the Brief. They were all communicated to the King afterwards, but not till after the decree of expulsion had been signed. This decree is dated September 3, but was not published till October 5, and there can be no doubt that the implacable Minister saw that the appeal of the Holy Father was too strong to be resisted by one who still had some sentiment of religion, and for this purpose kept the letters back while he hurried on the decree which deprived the whole dominions of Portugal of the labours of the Society. These letters are so beautiful, and reveal to us so clearly the tender heart and deep religious feeling of the Pontiff, and, at the same time, his conscientious justice, even when those were concerned whom he loved, that I shall give considerable portions of them here. After referring to the intention declared by the King of banishing all the Jesuits from his States, Clement praises him for his prudence in hearing the opinion of him whom God has placed over the Church before executing such a purpose, and then continues :

After having placed ourselves in the presence of God, and having long and fervently invoked His light, we have weighed in the balance of the sanctuary the resolution which your Majesty exposes to us in this letter, and the motives which are explained in the annexed memorial. We have, moreover, continually in view the demands of God's service, the honour of the Church, the rules of justice, and the security of your Majesty's conscience, which concerns us as much as our own, the peace of your soul, and the welfare of your states.

And to come now to the point, we believe that in this religious Society, which has incurred the indignation of your Majesty, we must distinguish the members who compose it from the Institute which they profess. If among those who wear the habit there are found some or several guilty of a fault, whatever it may be, it is just that they should be made to undergo the punishment proportioned to their crimes. God forbid that we should ever think of protecting the guilty, or authorizing disorders ; we should be wanting in an essential part of the duties attached to that office

which gives us the right to govern the Church with the authority of supreme judge.

But we should be equally wanting to another part of these same duties, and should be betraying our own conscience if we advised your Majesty to confound the innocent with the guilty, and to cause the former to suffer punishments which are due to the latter only. Your Majesty will easily understand that there must be a much larger number of innocent persons in so numerous a body making profession of an Institute of the highest perfection. Your Majesty has yourself judged this Institute worthy of your praise. . . . And of this we wish to speak in the second place.

The object of this holy Institute, destined by its founder to promote the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls, the means assigned by him for obtaining this end, the fruit which the Church of God has drawn from it in the increase of piety among the faithful, in the conversion of pagans and heretics, and in the refutation of heresies through the labours and sweat, and the blood of its followers, have merited for it the approbation and praises of the Apostolic See, even of the Universal Church assembled in the Council of Trent, the protection and favour of princes, and the esteem and affection of peoples. By the observance of this Institute, innumerable souls have been sanctified in all times and places, many of whom are already honoured by the Church with the public veneration of her altars, towards whom we know your Majesty entertains a tender devotion; others, again, she has already recognized as deserving of the same honour for their heroic virtues or for martyrdom suffered for Jesus Christ. This Institute, then, being based upon so solid a foundation of sanctity, nothing but an intrinsic alteration within itself, and an habitual abandonment of its spirit and of its laws, could cause its decline and ruin. Neither have we difficulty in believing that such an alteration might be gradually introduced into the provinces which form the body of the Society established in the kingdoms and dominions of your Majesty, knowing, as we do too well, the corrupt inclination of our nature, always urging it to depart from what is good, and to embrace what is evil. Your Majesty, at one time, thought that a sufficient remedy for repairing and eradicating the disorders would be found in the appointment of an extraordinary visitation and reform, and this was promptly ordained by our predecessor, and intrusted to a person of no less authority than the Cardinal Saldanha. And really, consider-

ing, on the one hand, the fulness of the Apostolic authority communicated to him to inquire into the state, the life, morals, and discipline of all these Jesuits, and of all that belongs to them, and into the doctrine which they profess, and their observance of the Canons and Pontifical constitutions; and to correct, punish, amend, and reform according to need, and his own prudence, only reserving the knowledge and approbation of the Apostolic See in matters of greater moment; and, on the other hand, considering that your Majesty exerted the whole power of your arm that the visitation and reform should have their full effect, it appears impossible to doubt the efficacy of a measure so well adapted to reclaim whoever had gone astray from the right path of the observance of the praiseworthy Institute which he possessed, at least until contrary experience shall have demonstrated its insufficiency. Let your Majesty then allow the visitation which has been agreed upon, and has already commenced, to be followed to its close. When, by means of this, we have arrived at a knowledge of the points in which the corruption and relaxation lie, not only of private individuals, but of the Jesuit Communities themselves existing in the kingdoms and dominions of your Majesty, it will be time to correct and punish the delinquents according to their personal shortcomings, and, at the same time, we shall be able to recognize and distinguish the innocent according as justice demands. Thus this portion of the Society of Jesus will be freed from all that can obscure its sanctity and good name; for which object we again offer our full authority and co-operation as far as it may be wanted; and this Institute, which at all times in other countries, and formerly in this, has produced such excellent fruits of piety and public usefulness, being now restored to its purity, will flourish with greater utility in these kingdoms, and being thus rendered in the future more worthy of the Sovereign's protection and the royal favour of your Majesty, will not fail to produce the hoped for results to the greater glory of God and the spiritual welfare of your subjects. These are the sentiments dictated to us by love of justice and of the true glory of your Majesty. This is the counsel which alone we can give, and which we place before you with that sincerity and that effusion of an affectionate heart which becomes a Father speaking to a son so worthy of respect, whose glory and happiness, temporal and eternal, he has as much at heart as his own. This is what we beg you with our whole soul to accept and embrace

with that docility which we hope a monarch as religious as he is great, will not refuse to the voice of him who holds, however unworthily, the place of that Supreme Lord by whom Kings reign, and in Whose Name they administer justice to their people. By doing this your Majesty will always more and more command our gratitude and will still more inflame the fervour with which we shall implore an abundance of celestial consolations and temporal prosperity upon your person and the whole royal family.

In the meantime, animated with a lively confidence of seeing our desires fulfilled, with the fulness of our Pastoral love, we grant your Majesty the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Sta. Maria Maggiore, August 2, 1759, in the second year of our Pontificate.[10]

I have introduced this long passage from the letter of the Holy Father that my readers may see the lofty religious spirit of this great Pope, and at the same time the condescension with which he listens to the accusations against the Society, asking for no tenderness for the supposed guilty ones, but standing only on the broad but eternal principle of justice, that the guilt must be proved, and that the innocent must not be confounded with the wicked. It is impossible not to be struck by the justice and dignity, and at the same time by the moderation and respect for the King shown in this letter; and yet Carvalho characterized it as insulting and injurious to the dignity of the Crown. The reason is evident; he had resolved on his course. What he wanted was not advice, but some colour of a sanction that might throw upon the Vicar of Christ the responsibility of the crime against religion and justice which he was going to commit.

De Ravignan gives a list of two hundred and fifty bishops who wrote to the Pope in favour of the Society about this time; and I have before me the testimonies of forty-five of these, written, the greater number of them from the various dioceses of Spain and Portugal, before the date of this letter. It is quite certain therefore that the Pope was well aware of the falseness of the accusations as far as they regarded Portugal; and as to the missions of South America, it was only

[10] *Vita di Sebastiano Guiseppe Carvalho,* i. p. 172.

on the 5th of April of the same year that the Supreme Council of Castile had passed judgment upon the information taken at Santa Fé, to which I have already referred, fully justifying the Society and condemning its adversaries as calumniators and forgers. And as we have seen, on May 13 of the same year the tribunal of the Inquisition of Spain had condemned and prohibited under severe penalties the reading of the various pamphlets published in that country against the Society. In appearing therefore to admit the accusations the Pope was acting the part of a consummate general, who knowing that parley was useless met his enemy upon his own ground, offered him the justice he asked for, and showed him that by the concessions of his predecessor, he already had in his hands the most ample means of discovering and bringing to justice any offenders who might exist, and that if so ample an authority failed to disclose them, the reason must be sought in the innocence of the Fathers, not in any deficiency of the means placed at his disposal. These means in fact had not been used for investigation but for oppression, and what he now sought was not justice but destruction.

In the second letter of the same date, the Holy Father refers to the Brief sent at the same time, in which he says he has given ample faculties to the tribunal *da Consciencia* for proceeding even against ecclesiastical persons who should be found guilty of the detestable attempt against his royal person. He thanks God for the miraculous preservation of the King, and tells him that for this end he went in person to the national Church of St. Antonio, and promises to continue his prayers for one so well deserving of the Church. He praises his reverence towards the Holy See, shown by his suspension of proceedings against the ecclesiastics until he knew its judgment; and after having again expressed his horror of the crime, and shown how far is the spirit of the Church from wishing to withdraw delinquents from justice, he proceeds with the following touching prayer for mercy.

We cannot however hide from you that the same spirit of the Church, conformable in everything to the meekness of our Divine

Master and Lord, abhors the shedding of human blood, and that in the very act in which it unties the hands of judges, so as to enable them to inflict even capital punishment on those who have rendered themselves unworthy of the personal immunity belonging to ecclesiastics, it at the same time interposes the most humble prayers to move them to withhold or at least to mitigate the blow. When the above-named tribunal according to the authority which we have given, justly condemns an ecclesiastic as guilty of the crime referred to, and worthy of capital punishment, and the criminal is, according to the canons, delivered over to the secular arm, your Majesty will easily find yourself in suspense, and will deliberate whether you ought to order the magistrates to proceed according to the rigour of justice, or rather to follow the impulse of your natural clemency, and of that religious respect which you have always shown for things consecrated to God, and persons signed with the indelible sacred character. In this deliberation we cannot refrain from counselling and entreating your Majesty to embrace the part of mercy, both because, having ourselves opened to you the road to justice, we feel in a manner bound to join to the permission which we have granted those prayers and intercessions which the Church puts into the mouth of its ministers, in the act of abandoning the guilty to the rigours of justice, and because we are persuaded that in doing this we are accomplishing a work proper to our paternal charity, and are not asking anything in opposition to the glory of your Majesty, but rather in accordance with the inclinations of your generous and magnanimous heart, which will perhaps rejoice at being able without prejudice to itself to give to the world a new proof of its loyal piety, condoning at the intercession of the Supreme Pontiff and Vicar, unworthy though he be, of Jesus Christ, the life of a minister of the sacred altar, who is so much the more miserable as he is the more guilty. Deign then to listen to our prayer on this point, being persuaded that if our horror and grief are great on hearing that even ecclesiastical persons had taken part in so detestable a perfidy, it will be no small consolation for us, if by your clemency we are spared the new horror of hearing of the exhibition of this terrible spectacle in the persons of men consecrated to God. And on our part, for such an act of royal piety, we shall ever profess the most lively gratitude which we shall endeavour to show on all occasions, and especially by praying constantly to the Lord for the preservation of your royal person,

to whom with paternal and most sincere affection we give our Apostolic blessing.

Given at Sta. Maria Maggiore, August 2, 1759. Pontiff. II.[11]

It may be that this letter had its effect as far as regards the public execution of the three Fathers condemned on July 31. It is said that the Minister urged the King to execute the sentences, but that his Majesty would not hear of more shedding of blood. De Mattos and Alexander Souza were allowed to die in prison. Malagrida was reserved for another fate, as we shall see later.

It is not clear when these letters were read by the King. The author of the Life of Pombal tells us that the Nuncio did not obtain his audience till September 11, and they were not then received. The same date is given for this audience in the memorial presented to the Pope by Almada on November 19, as recorded by Cordara,[12] but on the same day this Minister also showed the Holy Father a letter written by Da Cunha[13] on September 7, in which it is said that the tenour of the letters had been communicated to the King from the beginning of the month, therefore before the audience of the Nuncio. The Foreign Secretary, it appears, did not reflect that this communication had been surreptitious and thus revealed the intrigues of his chief. It is moreover evident that as the letters were contained in a sealed packet addressed to the King himself, the tenour of them could not have been known to others by any justiable means before the King had read them.

Everything leads us to believe that the packet was kept back to prevent the letter of the Pope producing its intended effect. The contents were known to the Minister before the end of August. On September 1 the first movement of the Fathers toward the port of embarkation was begun. On September 3 the decree of exile was signed. On September 11

[11] *Vita*, ii. p. 179.

[12] Unpublished MSS.

[13] See *Lettera giustificativa di Antonio Zatta* (Venezia, 1761) containing the memorial of Torregiani, p. 53.

the King had not yet received the letters. On September 17 the first party of the Society set sail into exile, and on the 18th the decree of banishment first appeared on the walls of Lisbon. On October 5 it was formally published with a decree of the Cardinal Patriarch.

In his letter of April 20 the King had asked leave to dispense with the ecclesiastical laws and deal with attempts at regicide without distinguishing whether the offenders were laymen or clerics or even religious. The Pope had granted the request for this particular case, but had refused to give a general dispensation of such importance.

On November 19, 1759, Almada placed in the hands of the Holy Father the memorial and note above referred to, in both of which great dissatisfaction at the refusal of the Pope and the conduct of the Nuncio are expressed in a manner so unbecoming as to bring forth the just indignation of the Pontiff. Nothing could show more clearly the intention of the Portuguese Minister to break off relations with the Holy See than the insolent tone of this memorial.

His most faithful Majesty [it is said] was much offended not only at the terms in which the Brief demanded for the punishment of the guilty was conceived, but also at the way in which it was sent to Portugal without being first communicated to his Minister residing in Rome: and moreover the same Monarch was highly offended at the irregular conduct of the Cardinal Acciajuoli, then Minister in Lisbon, in attempting to force his Majesty to accept the Brief and refusing to consign to him the letters of His Holiness, alleging that they were inseparable from the Brief.

The memorial adds—

That his Majesty expected to receive from the unalterable justice of His Holiness a remedy of such effect as to put an end at once to the public scandal which certain ministers of His Holiness had given not only in Lisbon but throughout Europe, and notably in Rome, by their open co-operation with the execrable insults and abominable calumnies which the whole governing body as well as all the religious of the Society called of Jesus, have spread not only in the kingdom of Portugal but in all the dominions of the Crown beyond the sea.

On November 22, Cardinal Torregiani communicated to the Commendatore Almada a memorial in which is expressed the extreme surprise and grief of the Holy Father that instead of the gratitude which he expected and which his condescension deserved, the King had expressed his discontent that only a part of what had been asked was granted, and had complained of the conduct of the Nuncio, Cardinal Acciajuoli, in communicating the answer of the Holy See. The unreasonableness of the King's demand is pointed out, and it is declared that the Nuncio had acted in conformity with the Pope's intentions and commands, though he would be told to state in writing to the King the motives of his conduct. With respect to the Society, the substance of the former letter is repeated, and it is declared that—

> The sentiments of the Pontiff on this head are invariable, because founded on justice which does not wish the innocent to be confounded with the guilty, nor that penalties which were *perhaps* due to certain individuals, for whose punishment the Holy See had granted all the faculties asked, should be extended in their consequences to the injury and discredit of the whole body of which they are members, a body professing an Institute so highly approved and commended by Supreme Pontiffs his Predecessors, useful to the Catholic Church and enjoying the protection of the Holy See and the Supreme Pontiff. Moreover if it should be proved that any Jesuit was guilty, either in Rome or elsewhere, of calumnies or insults against his most faithful Majesty, and if any of his ministers have co-operated in such crimes, he will not fail to give to the world an evident proof of his resentment, so as to make complete satisfaction for the insult.

This well-merited rebuke was the more distasteful to Almada on account of the tribute of praise to the Society which it contained, the doubt it expressed as to the guilt of any of its members in the attempt of September 3, and its calling in question the charge against the Jesuits in Rome of calumniating the King. The fact of the matter was, that whereas the vilest calumnies against the Society were spread in hundreds of thousands of copies by agents employed in the

name of the King, if any Jesuits or any defenders of innocence attempted to write anything in refutation of these charges, they were styled seditious men and accused of spreading calumnies against his Majesty, and this even in official documents. Of this it is useful to give one instance. We have said enough of the fable of the *Brief Relations*. In the memorial to the Pope of April 20, it is said—

> They have abused the pious credulity of persons whom they found capable of being deceived, and with a rashness of malice such as was never before known in the face of the public notoriety of what took place in the presence of three armies, and the whole state of Brazil, they endeavour to overthrow the manifest truth of the wars and seditions which they raised, . . . at the cost of twenty-six million crowns . . . they endeavour, I say, to persuade them that they raised no war nor sedition, that these things are falsely imputed to them, and that the memorial which his Majesty had ordered to be drawn up under the title of *Brief Relation* contained a notorious libel, a satire and a fabrication—a blasphemy, rashness, and calumny, which alone would have authorized the most faithful King to exert against these perverse and most pernicious religious the most extreme acts of his just and royal power.

This is enough. It is a fair specimen of the language of Carvalho, and no one will wonder after reading this extract that the Jesuits, and even the ministers of the Holy Father, are accused of calumniating the King. The answer of Almada to the note of Torregiani is dated December 4, and is still more insolent than the last. He says 'It seems unnecessary to hold new sessions on the request of the King, as his pretensions are already sufficiently declared, wherefore he wishes only for a categorical answer to be sent at once to His Majesty that he may take his determination accordingly.' He then makes a proposal on his own account, and, as he says, without any instruction, purely in his zeal for peace between the two Courts. The author of the Life of Pombal thinks he expected it to be refused, as he wished for an opportunity of breaking off relations with Rome. He proposes that the Pope should grant full faculties to the tribunal *da Consciencia* for the future, on con-

dition that it should be presided over by some ecclesiastic accepted by the King. The Pope accepted the proposition with some modification, and granted the faculty, provided 'some bishop or prelate or person holding ecclesiastical dignity acceptable to the King, preside in person, and that two others of the court be priests and doctors, or licentiates in theology or canon law.'

The minute of this Brief was sent to Portugal, but Carvalho replied with contempt that his Majesty being at his villa, it was not a time to examine it. Other signs were not wanting of the disposition to quarrel with the Holy See. Already on the occasion of the elevation of Acciajuoli to the dignity of Cardinal, the Court of Rome had asked for names for the appointment of a new Nuncio. Carvalho answered that they did not want one till the affair of the Jesuits was settled.

A few months later an opportunity was found. On June 6, 1760, took place the marriage of the Infante Don Pedro with the Princess of Brazil, his niece, by virtue of a dispensation long since obtained from the Pope. Notice of this event was formally sent not only to all ambassadors of foreign Courts, but even to Ministers of the second order. A marked exception was made with respect to the Nuncio, Acciajuoli. This was so evidently intended as an insult to the Holy See, that the Cardinal considered it his duty to wait at once on Da Cunha and represent to him the scandal such an exception must give. He had long noticed that he was not treated with the respect due to his character. Da Cunha replied that the notice sent to the other Ministers was intended to acquaint them with the place they were to occupy in the State ceremonies of the day, and that that would not refer to his Eminence. In answer, the Cardinal showed him that there were two parts to the notices, and that the portion acquainting him with the event should not have been withheld from the representative of the Holy See, and begged he would not put him to the pain of absenting himself from such a function. Da Cunha replied that he would consult the King. The Cardinal heard no more, and took no part in the State ceremonials and his house was an

exception to the general illumination. On the morning of the 15th, at seven o'clock, just as he was about to say Mass, he received a note ordering him in the name of the King to leave the city at once, and to withdraw from the kingdom within the space of four days, and adding that to preserve him from insult, a becoming military escort was ordered to accompany him to the frontier. The escort had indeed at the very time surrounded the house. The Cardinal was hurried off without being allowed even to assist at Mass.

In the expulsion of the Nuncio from Portugal, Carvalho, began to see the realization of his projects. The destruction of the Society in the dominions of the King was only a step to this. This destruction was now an accomplished fact. Some details of it must be given in the following chapter.

CHAPTER X.

Expulsion.

We have seen that the accusations against the Society in Portugal might all be summed up into three principal heads —the raising of sedition and carrying on of war against the Government in America; the violation of the canons by illicit traffic; and the conspiracy against his Majesty's life on September 3. These charges were repeatedly renewed and circulated in every direction with innumerable amplifications and expressions of horror and grief at the entire corruption of the whole Society, its utter neglect and contempt of the commands of the Holy See, its usurpation of power in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, its hatred of the sacred person of his Majesty, its wicked and seditious doctrines, and finally, its spreading calumnies against the King, not only in the kingdom of Portugal, but all over Europe, and especially in Rome. It has already been noticed, that so far

from any proof having been brought that could substantiate these charges, the proofs that were attempted as a justification of the conduct pursued against the Society, were in some cases a mass of contradictions which defeated themselves, and in others, were overthrown by authentic documents and the formal decisions of tribunals. It has been shown also that the books circulated to sustain the charges were condemned as infamous libels by both civil and ecclesiastical courts; that the pretended calumnies against the King were nothing but the most legitimate refutations of groundless charges; and that the Supreme Pontiff and generally the hierarchy of the Church, wherever fear of the Minister did not constrain them to suppress their true sentiments, showed their disbelief of the charges, though in many cases the scene was laid under their own eyes.

It is necessary to bear all this in mind to understand the effrontery of the decree of expulsion which we have now to consider, and which, with this light thrown upon it, becomes itself a defence of the Society, as it shows that there was nothing else to bring against it but what all candid men must acknowledge to have been falsehood. The passages I shall quote give another example of a style in which the multiplicity of words, the accumulation of accusations and the addition of redundant epithets are made to take the place of argument to such a degree as to be received everywhere with contempt. This decree was signed, as has been seen, on September 3, and on October 5 was promulgated with a letter from the Cardinal Patriarch, and ordered to be published in all the churches in the patriarchate.

After having stated how he had till now suspended all action against the religious guilty of the attempt of September 3, on account of his 'inviolable principle of reverence for the Common Father of the Faithful,' the King is made to say, 'It was this most obsequious condescendence and filial veneration' which led him to address the Holy Father on April 20; but since that time he had become convinced of the 'indispensable urgency of putting an effective check to the

unheard of atrocities, and the rash machinations and sacrilegious calumnies, such as have never before been known, which, ever since the month of April, have been heaped against my royal authority in the Court of Rome, and in many other cities of Europe, by the stratagems of the religious of the Society, as is made manifest even by published letters sent to all the Courts of Europe.' Now at least he feels that he has fulfilled his duty of filial and reverent attention, and finds it indispensable to defer no longer to support the royal honour against the intolerable injuries which the barefaced audacity of these religious has made common cause to inflict on it. He then speaks of the 'violent usurpation' in Brazil, not only of 'his dominions, but of the liberty, honour, and substance of the inhabitants.' We then read of the bitter and troublesome war which they waged against his possessions beyond the sea, with so much scandal and horror to the whole universe. When the tumults they had raised in America, 'with rebellion and abominable superstition,' were put an end to, they went on to excite intestine seditions within his own kingdom, and to arm his own vassals against him, and corrupted them to such a point as to precipitate them into the most horrible folly of September 3, 'with an infamy and infidelity never before imagined amongst Portuguese.' 'And when there remained no other barbarity to which the blindness of their cruel and insatiable avarice could have recourse, they went further to attack his high reputation, the Jesuits of Rome and their adherents labouring openly to render his name odious, by spreading throughout Italy infamous inventions of malice and manifest impostures, which, however, came back upon these pernicious Regulars with the universal indignation of all Europe. Wherefore, seeing the sacrilegious crime exposed to justice; seeing the calumny devoid of support, and without even any appearance that could give credit to their manifest impostures and blasphemies against the most authentic and notorious truths; seeing the respect due to the Sovereign Power barbarously violated without restraint and without measure, by men who, by virtue of their Institute,

acknowledged no other strength than holy humility; and finally, seeing all the execrable attempts of the Portuguese Jesuits surpassed by those of Rome, as the former conspired only against his states and his life, while these went on with such deformity to ruin his royal reputation, in which consists the vivifying soul of the whole monarchy; wherefore in these indispensable circumstances, he has considered that these Religious Regulars, being corrupted and deplorably fallen away from their holy Institute, and rendered manifestly incapable by such abominable and inveterate vices to return again to its observances, must be promptly and effectually banished, disnaturalized, proscribed, and expelled from all his kingdoms and dominions, as notorious rebels, traitors, adversaries, and aggressors of his royal person and states and of the public peace and the common good of his vassals, ordering, under pain of natural and irremissible death, that no person, of whatever state or condition, admit them into any of his dominions, or hold any correspondence or any communication with them by word or writing, even though they should return into these states under a different dress, or should have entered some other Order, unless special permission is granted by himself.'

The document which we are quoting finishes by saying that it is probable that those who are not solemnly professed (at least three-fourths of the whole, considering the number of scholastics and lay-brothers), had not been intrusted with the 'horrible secrets of such abominable conspiracies and infamous crimes,' and consequently, if any of them will ask for dispensation from their simple vows, they shall be allowed to remain in the country as his vassals, 'not having any other personal or proved fault to incapacitate them.'[1] The last words give us the key of the whole. Though the Order is said to be corrupt, it is confessed that all who were not professed and shall ask for liberation from their simple vows, shall be held to have no other personal fault. It was, in fact, the habit that was their only crime. The number of young men and not professed

[1] *Raccolta d'Opuscoli*, vol. ii. p. 44.

was large, and Carvalho shrank from depriving the country of so much energy and talent, and dreaded, moreover, the outcry that their families would raise against him. He determined, therefore, to spare no pains to keep them in the country, but stript of their religious character. Surely, if the Institute was holy, as he so often confesses, and the young men were innocent, there might have been other ways of remedying the supposed evil besides that of rooting the very name of Jesuit from the soil of Portugal; but Carvalho rarely saw the conclusions to be drawn from his own words: they alone suffice to prove that it was not the crimes of the Society that led to their expulsion, even if it were not evident that there is nothing mentioned in the decree which has not been abundantly disproved. The inflated language is all directed to an image in his own brain, and is destined to make an impression on the simple, where solid arguments were absolutely wanting.

The Pastoral of the Cardinal, issued with the decree of expulsion, is one of those pitiful exhibitions of servility to the State which must remove all surprise that the Church in some countries has been at times so defiled. 'It is our indispensable obligation,' he says, 'to guide our subjects by the most secure roads that lead to salvation.' We shall see later the zeal with which he exerted himself to force the tender youths of the Society to abandon what he himself calls a holy Institute, to which they had pledged themselves by vow, offering them as an allurement the honours of the world and the favours of their King, which those who yielded to him, as is usually the case, never received. But he explained his principles in the same sentence, by pointing out that it is 'the duty of subjects to love their Governments, respect their decrees, and obey all their laws.' He then cites a number of texts of Holy Scripture to prove the duty of obedience to kings, and continues as follows: 'And as we hope that all our subjects (considering the incomparable happiness of being a vassal of so pious and just a King) must feel grieved and shocked that the Society of the Jesuits, departing from their holy Institute,

and forgetting the necessary obligations of humility, have not only conspired against the sacred person of their monarch and against his dominions, but, what is more, have attempted with a scandalous obstinacy to sully his reputation, and destroy the respect due to his Majesty, we exhort all our secular subjects, and we command all ecclesiastics, to refrain from all communication either by word or by writing with these disnaturalized religious, in order to avoid another disturbance of the public peace and tranquillity, which we are all bound to exert ourselves to secure not only as Catholics, but even as faithful vassals.'

He then laments that the trust confided in him by His Holiness, Benedict XIV., had had such an unhappy result, and that, instead of leading these religious to a true humility it had caused them to swerve still further from their duty; and concludes by exhorting all to pray 'that God will give these unhappy men the light to see their inexcusable and lamentable errors, and to enter again on the right path which their holy Patriarch had pointed out to them by his admirable and perfect works, and his secure and Catholic doctrine.'[2]

I have only to ask the reader to call to mind the means taken by the Visitor to ascertain the guilt or innocence of the Society, and the evidence on which the principal accusation of the attempted regicide was based, to be sure of the judgment which he will form of this pastoral. It is but one more act of that obedience to the will of the Minister, which we have seen from his first assumption of office, which makes the memory of this Prelate so sad, and marks his acts with the indelible stain of the perversion of justice.

Immediately after his elevation to the Patriarchate he had sent the Fathers a severe reprimand, which was communicated to the Superiors by the officers who had charge of the guard over the Colleges, for not allowing their subjects to write to him. He forgot that he had himself forbidden in the strictest manner all communication whatsoever with any one out of the Colleges, and that in most instances all means of

[2] *Vita di Sebastiano Giuseppe Carvalho,* vol. ii. p. 201.

writing were taken away from them. Two did indeed avail themselves about this time of the permission given. The doctors had ordered them to take certain baths, and they asked for leave to do so. They were refused. They had misunderstood the object of the liberty, which was given only to assist those whose wish it was to abandon their vocation.

At length the period of exodus began.[3] I must relate it only briefly. The first start was made from the College of Elvas. As a preliminary measure, the Fathers of Portalegre and Villa Viciosa had been assembled there. On the morning of September 1, the Governor of the town sent word to the College that all were to be in readiness to start that day, but gave no idea of their destination. In the afternoon he himself appeared at the gates of the College with carriages and horses, and escorted by half a regiment of cavalry. The Fathers, who were thirty-eight in number, were ordered to take their seats in the carriages, and the Brothers to mount the horses, and the order was given for the procession to move forward without delay. It was headed by a squadron of cavalry which was followed by the carriages, each of which was attended by a guard, and finally by the horsemen, each of whom rode between two soldiers. Though it was already dark the inhabitants crowded the streets, bearing testimony by their tears and lamentations, and the affectionate farewell they gave to the exiles, how far they were from joining in the sentiments of the Minister. The immediate destination of this party was the College of Evora, whither those of Faro, Villa Nova, as well as a number of novices were also conducted. The first night was spent in a painful and laborious march, they knew not whither. The next day was Sunday. They were lodged in a miserable cabin, where they endured great sufferings from the heat; and the scanty supply of bread which they received was due only to charity. There was a church near, but they were allowed neither to hear nor say Mass. In the evening they again started, and continued their journey till midnight, and next morning, after again hastily

[3] See *Compendio istorico*, p. 150.

partaking of the food of the poor, they renewed their journey, and continuing it through the heat of the day, arrived at Evora at eleven o'clock at night. At this College there were a great number of young men; and it was here they were first separated from the Professed Fathers. The young men and lay-brothers were left at the College, and sixty-nine professed were conducted on foot, by most difficult roads, in the want of almost every necessary of life, a journey of six days, to the banks of the Tagus. The soldiers who guarded them, worn out themselves with hardship, murmured loudly at the cruelty of the man who inflicted such treatment on venerable priests, many of whom were already broken with labours and age. The brain of one old man, Father Antony Pereira, gave way after three days and nights passed without taking food or rest. The reckless barbarity shown in the utter want of all arrangements for the comfort of the exiles would be incredible if it were not vouched for by contemporary writers who could not have been deceived. These sixty-nine Fathers—against not one of whom personally a crime had been alleged, many of whom were conspicuous for their learning and even for their birth—were placed in boats and kept for a whole day exposed to the air and burning sun, and suffering from parching thirst, till the Minister sent orders for them to be conveyed on board a Ragusan vessel which was lying in the river, and which had been engaged by Carvalho for this very purpose ever since the month of April.

The Fathers of Santarem, twenty-five in number, started on September 12, and were kept three days and four nights on the journey to the place of embarkation, though a single day would have sufficed. On the same day those of the Novitiate and College of St. Antony in Lisbon received notice to be ready to start. They waited for two days and nights without taking any rest, expecting every moment the signal for departure. The third day, after having stood waiting till midnight, and thinking that, being now Sunday, they would not be disturbed, they went to rest. Scarcely had they done so, as if it was for this only they were waiting, than soldiers were distributed through the building, who roused the Fathers

from their sleep, and marched them off without allowing them to carry anything but the clothes they wore. It was only earnest entreaty that obtained for them permission to pay a visit for a few moments to the tabernacle, after which they were hurried off between soldiers to the port. Here the strictest guard was kept over them to prevent all communication with the people who flocked to the waterside to see the Fathers for the last time. But even this was prevented as far as it was possible, by the removal of all boats from which a view of the exiles might have been obtained, and even when they arrived on board they were carefully kept below deck until they reached the open sea. At length they met on board the Ragusan vessel to the number of one hundred and thirty-three, almost all Professed Fathers, and the greater part of them old men who had seen long service and had grown grey in their apostolic labours in various quarters of the globe. The joy that they showed on meeting once again after so many months of harassing surveillance, confinement and entire ignorance of the condition of their brethren in other houses, and their relief on learning that their destination was to be Catholic Italy instead of the pestilential shores of Africa as had been threatened, were enough to move the hardest hearts. The soldiers were stupefied at the sight of these men, forgetting that they were leaving their native shores for ever, with all that the world could have of dear to them, weeping from consolation and embracing one another with transports of joy.

This simple effusion of their hearts, which persecuted justice alone could exhibit, revealed their innocence and the injustice of their persecutors more clearly than any words could have done. The officers and soldiers were moved to tenderness, and many asked their forgiveness for the harsh treatment they had been compelled to inflict. This meeting together of so many men who had but one heart and one cause made all subsequent trials light; but for this their position would have been hard indeed, for in all external circumstances their sufferings were only beginning. Though the departure of these Fathers had been so long planned, the ship that was to throw

them without permission or even notice on the shores of the Pontifical States had been left destitute even of the most ordinary necessaries. The water was corrupted and unfit to drink, the food insufficient and of the worst quality, and those little conveniences of life which even the poorest rarely want were unprovided. Knives and forks were not to be had, but each one was provided with a wooden spoon to serve for all purposes. Not even was a plate given to each, but six or seven had to sit round a tin, which served to hold whatever food was given them, and for want of cups they had to drink from the nauseous vessel which had held their food. Many of these men had lain in the cabins of savages and eaten the hard food of the forest till they were white with age. They remembered the *Edent pauperes*[4] which they had said daily since they were all but children, and the consciousness that God was now accepting the sacrifice they had made of their whole selves, enabled them to bear all in joy, so that no murmur of impatience escaped their lips; but the officers were disgusted at such barbarity, and refused to witness it. Before starting an inventory was made of the provisions, and it was found that they were so evidently insufficient, that all haste was made to obtain further supplies. A few cups and plates and a small quantity of provisions were obtained from the man-of-war that escorted them, the captain of which, by name Antonio de Britto, had the humanity to send the exiles some wine, sugar, and fruit, though he knew well by the experience of others how much his charity might cost him. They left the port of Lisbon on September 16, the captain having received the strictest orders to enter no port till he reached Civita Vecchia. But after they had passed the Straits of Gibraltar it became evident that, unless he meant to allow half his passengers to die of hunger, he must take in more supplies for the voyage, and in consequence, notwithstanding his fears of the vengeance of the Minister, he consented to put into the port of Alicante in Spain. The reception which awaited the exiles here must have been enough to repay them for all they had endured. It was the

[4] First words of the grace before supper said in religious communities.

contrast between the ceaseless custody of condemned criminals, on whom no one could look with kindness without the fear of being involved in their punishment, and the expansive sympathy of a whole people seeking only to show their esteem for men whom they already looked on as confessors for the faith. One only was allowed to go on shore with the captain to procure provisions. He went straight to the College and told the Fathers of the sad state of their exiled brethren. It is needless to describe the reception he met with there; indeed the news was no sooner spread through the city than all classes vied with one another in sending succour to the captives, and in this work of mercy none distinguished themselves more than the students of the College, who entreated their parents to give them means to purchase comforts for those whom they knew only as brethren of the masters whom they loved, and whom they loved too under the double title of their virtue and their wretchedness. One day only was allowed in the port, and the next morning, before break of day, the exiles were again at sea. A severe storm off the the coast of Corsica, and a series of contrary winds, compelled them to put into Spezia again to replenish their exhausted stock of food; and it was only on October 24 that they reached Civita Vecchia, worn out with fatigue, increased by the heat of the season, the want of space in the vessel, and the other hardships of the journey. Insolent as had been the conduct of Carvalho in thus sending the Fathers to the Pontifical States without even the courtesy of a formal notice, the tender heart of Clement XIII. thought only of diminishing the sufferings of the afflicted. Arrangements had already been made for their reception. By his orders they were distributed amongst the various religious houses of the town, and all expenses were provided for by the Apostolic Camera. The religious Communities vied with one another in their kindness to the exiles. Whatever the difference of habit and immediate object of the Institute, whatever the literary and theological contests which had so often existed between them, which no doubt often grew too high between individuals

on either side, it could now be seen plainly enough that the Religious Orders of the Church were members of but one family, each of whom could say with the Apostle, 'Who is weak, and I am not weak; who is scandalized, and I am not on fire?'[5] It is not enough to say they received them with open arms. They omitted nothing which fraternal affection could suggest to contribute to the comfort of these first victims of anti-Christian conspiracy; but none equalled in kindness the Dominican Fathers, who, by their generous cordiality in these days of bitter trial, have placed the Society under an eternal debt of gratitude to them. The following inscription, engraved on a marble slab in their church by the inhabitants of Civita Vecchia, is one of those consoling memorials of Christian love which bitter days alone can so well produce:—

D. O. M.
LUSITANIS PATRIBUS SOCIETATIS JESU
OB GRAVISSIMAS APUD REGEM CALUMNIAS
POST PROBROSAS NOTAS
MULTIPLICES CRUCIATUS
BONORUM PUBLICATIONEM
AD ITALIÆ ORAM AMANDATIS
TERRA MARIQUE
INTEGRITATE, PATIENTIA, CONSTANTIA
PROBATISSIMIS
IN HAC SANCTI DOMINICI ÆDE EXCEPTIS
ANNO M.DCC.LIX
PATRES PRÆDICATORES
CHRISTIANÆ FIDEI INCREMENTO ET TUTELÆ
EX INSTITUTO INTENTI
IPSIQUE SOCIETATI JESU
EX MAJORUM SUORUM DECRETIS
EXEMPLISQUE DEVINCTISSIMI
PONENDUM CURARUNT.

On November 4 they proceeded to Rome and thence to Frascati, where they were lodged in the Villa Rufinella,

[5] 2 Corinthians xi. 29.

belonging to the Roman College. The marks of kindness they there received from the Holy Father, and the visits and other attentions paid them by Prelates and Cardinals, were a sufficient demonstration how different were the views taken of their case by the Court of Rome and the Government of Portugal.

On September 30 the Professed Fathers were led out of the great College of Coimbra. On the day previous, sentinels had been placed at all the cells, while patrols guarded the corridors. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood were told that the Fathers had been fighting among themselves, that some had been killed and others wounded, and that this precaution was taken to prevent further disorders. The people knew well the falsehood of such a story, and treated it with the contempt it deserved. The real reason of the precaution was the fear lest the inhabitants should make an effort to rescue the Fathers from their hands. The parting from the young men who were to be left behind was very sad. The old men knew the dangers to which their tender youth was about to be exposed, deprived of their guides in the midst of so many temptations to their vocation. They exhorted them to firmness in the principles they had been taught, and confidence in God, Who would never be wanting to those who trusted in Him. The youths wept for the loss of those who had been all to them after God in their spiritual life, and both in turn encouraged one another to patience in trial and confidence in Him, Who saw the justice of their cause, and would reckon every pang they endured for their crown. As usual, the departure took place at night. It was wet and dark, but the whole city was at the windows to see the sad cavalcade pass, and the lamentations of the poor, and the benedictions of all, were heard amid the trampings of the horses' hoofs, as these men, who had never known what violence was, who, according to the testimony of every one who knew them, had gone about doing good to all, who had spent their lives in instructing the ignorant, in consoling the afflicted, and in administering the rites of religion to all who sought them, were led away in the custody of cavalry as if they had been brigands or prisoners of

war. At the banks of the Tagus, where they arrived on October 6, they met another party; and a little after midnight on October 7 the whole number, now amounting to one hundred and twenty-two, were embarked on two vessels to be conveyed to Genoa. This State had incurred the displeasure of Carvalho by refusing to permit the libels published in the house of Almada to be circulated within its limits. It is said that Carvalho wished either to be revenged for the justice they had shown to the Society, or to see how far they would carry it, perhaps with a view of finding a cause of quarrel. However this may have been, the Senate was too much on its guard to fall into the net laid for them. They showed the exiles every mark of kindness, supplied them with abundance of all they needed, and many of the principal magistrates visited them in their prison. But they were not allowed to land; the Senate judging that the necessity of avoiding a conflict with such a government as Portugal then was, and the dignity of the Republic, imposed on them duties even higher than those of hospitality, which otherwise they would willingly have fulfilled.[6] To overcome the difficulties arising from the orders given to the captain to disembark the exiles at Genoa, the whole party was transferred to one of the vessels, and the Portuguese Consul was compelled to pay the captain the additional cost of the journey from that city to Civita Vecchia. Their sufferings were now increased by the diminution of space; and to give the poor exiles a new source of patience they were detained a whole month in their close confinement in the port of Leghorn, unable to land, and prevented from partaking of the rites of religion, which was the one happiness for which they sighed, whilst the Ragusan captain was employed in the interests of his traffic, with apparently less solicitude for his living freight than if they had been sheep for the knife. At length, after having been driven into Portolongone and Ercole by storms, on January 4, 1760, they reached Civita Vecchia in a state so deplorable as to move all who saw them to compassion. After a short delay here, during which they received

[6] *Compendio Istorico*, p. 166.

the same kindness as those who had preceded them, they were sent on to Rome, and finally to the Villa of Castel-Gandolfo. Whilst detained in the port of Leghorn they addressed a letter in the Latin language to the governor of the city, asking for leave to go on shore. As it contains a simple statement of the case given in their own words, I shall give the original in a note.[7] 'It is,' says the author of the *Compendio Istorico*, 'in a style which at least refutes the charge of ignorance of the classic languages brought against them by Carvalho.'

[7] Excellentissime Domine,—Lusitani Jesuitæ centum ipsi et viginti unus a Rege Fidelissimo ex Lusitania ejecti Genuam missi sumus ob crimina, quorum non modo conscientia, sed scientia caremus, utpote indicta causa damnati. Nostram tamen existimationem aliorum judicio relinquimus, cum neque reverentia erga Fidelissimum Regem patiatur ut innocentiam nostram obtestemur, nec veritas serviat ut nos reos esse fateamur.

Genuam delati quo Rex nos destinaverat, non jam ejus imperio, sed nostris auspiciis, et nostrorum majorum auctoritate ad Centumcellas transfretavimus : necesse tamen habuimus in hunc portum divertere, in illoque morari quousque Ragusana, qua vehimur, navis merces hic suas deponat. Hæc mora quæ decem ut minimum dies tenebit nobis opportunissima est ut e diuturnis navigationis ærumnis respiremus, nosque a squalore ac situ quo immersi sumus abstergamus. Maxime tamen hoc levamento egent, permulti senes, alii quidem plusquam octogenarii alii septuagenarii, sexagenarii que longe majores, quorum vires jam senio affectæ tot tantisque incommodis ac molestiis exhaustæ sunt. Sed ecce nobis indicitur, ne pedem e navi efferamus, atque in hanc ipsam urbem, quæ commune omnium perfugium est, nobis aditus intercluditur. Equidem, etsi diu assuerimus fortunæ injuriis perferendis, hæc tamen repulsa tam est ab hujus urbis indole aliena, tamque nobis incommoda ac indecora ut necesse sit eam deprecari et beneficii loco ab Ex. V. postulare quod communis æquitas, atque humanitas postulat, nempe ut nobis Religiosis hominibus in nullo scelere deprehensis, nec legitimo judice damnatis id liceat, quod sectarum omnium professoribus, quod profugis atque expulsis licet, imo longe minus, cum his liceat in hac urbe immorari, nobis vero satis sit ad eam accedere, idque non agminatim sed divisim, ut ex hac sentina tantisper emergere, socios nostros invisere, remque divinam facere possimus. Cum hoc postulamus, parum nobis postulare videmur, idque consentaneum humanissimo Ex. V. genio, consentaneum August. Principum Imperatoris Imperatricisque voluntati, cum enim præcipua quadam benevolentia Soc. nostram amplectantur, gratum iis accidet quod Ex. V. hac nobiscum humanitate utatur. Rogarem pluribus Ex. V. si ejus benignitati et petitionis nostræ æquitati minus fiderem. Vale Ex. Domine, ne omitte quæso de hominibus calamitosis Deo consecratis ac Jesu sociis benemereri.

Ex navi Ragusana cui nomen Bonaventura,

21 Nov. 1759.

Ex V. Humilimus et obsequens Servus,

JOSEPHUS BRANCO,

Socior Super.

Perhaps there is no episode more interesting in the whole of this strange history, none which gives us more instructive lessons on the short-sightedness of human passion than the exception made with respect to the young men of the Society in this expulsion. No one with any knowledge of human nature could believe that a Religious Order could fall away from the virtue of its Institute, and the whole of its youth remain good. History gives us instances of individuals falling away in their old age, in punishment perhaps of some secret pride which had long rendered their virtue unsound. But for a whole Order to pass from a state of virtue into one of degraded and appalling vice, at a period when the allurements of life are past, when the passions of youth have ceased to inflame, and the merits acquired in earlier years render virtue every day easier, is what history has never seen, and reason will not believe. There are some men so strengthened by grace that it seems that no example will taint them; but will any one believe that the whole youth of an Order could preserve its virtue when the entire body of its elders was notoriously corrupt in the face of the whole world; or that that body is hopelessly and irremediably ruined, whose rising generation is full of the life and vigour of virtue? These are contradictions too palpable to need dwelling on.

> Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
> Testa diu—

is true in the order of grace as well as of nature. If all the elders of an Order are corrupt, we may conclude that their youth was not virtuous; but if the whole youth is holy, we may reckon with the certainty of immutable laws on a virtuous old age. We have here then one of those inconsistencies into which Carvalho blindly threw himself. We have seen the Professed Society declared to be and to have been corrupt beyond all hope of restoration, and we shall see the unprofessed members, considerably outnumbering them, declared innocent and faithful vassals of the King, but on one condition, which solves the whole mystery, that they would throw off the habit which they

wore, and renounce the vows they had made at the altar. And what is still more strange, even Professed Fathers, though declared to be so guilty, had only to renounce their allegiance to the Order, and accept from the Cardinal a dispensation from their solemn vows, which he had no power to give, to be held good citizens and worthy of the favour of the King.

The whole youth of the Society in Portugal was now gathered together in the two great houses of Coimbra and Evora. In the former place they were placed under the charge of an officer named Tommaso Antonio de Lima e Castro, and in the latter of Geronimo de Lemos Montegro, both of whom had orders to spare no pains to induce these young men to leave the Society. For this purpose the system of treatment was changed. Instead of being kept in strict seclusion, for fear they should contaminate the faithful vassals of the King, they were now allowed the greatest liberty of communication. All who wished were allowed to visit them, while the officers and soldiers talked freely among them. On the one hand, the hardships of exile and imprisonment were put before them, and on the other, parents and friends entreated them to return to their homes. Carvalho confidently expected that, deprived of the support of their Superiors and exposed to such influences, it would be easy work to gain them back to the world. He was greatly deceived; no sooner did this generous band of youthful soldiers feel themselves deprived of the ordinary helps of religious life, than with one accord they determined to devote themselves with the greatest exactness to the observance of their rules, and to make no change in the order of the day, except that of multiplying acts of devotion. For this purpose they chose amongst themselves a student of theology of the fourth year, and consequently a priest, for their Superior, and another for minister. Professors of philosophy and rhetoric were appointed; another assumed the charge of the novices: and so by a power which no human hand could have exerted, all things fell into their place, and this large community, moved by a spirit which no corrupt old age could have instilled, deprived of all ordinary helps, showed all the observance of a flourishing and

exemplary community. But ordinary observance did not satisfy their fervour in times of such special danger. Holy Communions were multiplied, novenas and triduos succeeded one another, all for one object, to obtain the gift of perseverance from Him Who alone could ensure it to them. Theirs was the prayer of the soldiers of Sebaste, 'forty we have entered into the conflict, forty may we attain the crown.' The Minister, seeing that little progress was made, and that, though a small number yielded to the entreaties of their friends and their fear of the hardships held out to them, the great majority remained firm in their determination, induced the Cardinal to write them a letter urging them to give up the religious state and return to their homes. This prelate, who had long since made himself the servant of the Minister in all that regarded the treatment of the Society, in sad forgetfulness of the obligation which he himself had expressed in his letter, of leading all men by the most secure road to salvation, at once complied with the injunction, and wrote a letter in which he urged them to abandon the promise they had made to God, and held out to them flattering hopes of honours in the world.[8] This letter was immediately read in public to the communities both at Coimbra and Evora, but it produced no effect.

At length, Carvalho himself, with a characteristic confidence in his own powers of persuasion, addressed them in a letter in which he told them that the King was fully informed that all those who had not made their solemn profession were innocent; that he had consequently resolved not to comprise them in the decree of expulsion; indeed that he wished them to stay in the kingdom, and that he would take them under his royal protection, provided only that they would ask for the dimissorial letters which the Cardinal had already offered them. This letter needs no comment. It was read to the assembled communities by the officers in charge, and each one was exhorted separately, by all the arguments that had been so frequently brought forward, to save himself by compliance; and each was ordered to return his answer in writing. But it was all

[8] *Compendio Istorico dell' Espulsione*, p. 173.

in vain. These generous youths, purged from what was worldly among them by the weakness of a few, like brave soldiers, whose courage is only the more inflamed as they approach the front, with scarcely any exception, wrote back that they would rather die than abandon the holy state they had chosen; while some, to show the Minister what he might expect of them, returned no answer except the formula of their vows written in their blood. Still the Minister would not desist from his efforts. Thinking that the want of subsistence might deter some, the Cardinal was told to write to them saying that he had obtained from the royal liberality and generosity a pension amounting to about ten pence a day for each one who should relinquish his habit, provided he proved juridically his poverty; and a letter was signed by the King ordering the Minister Cordeiro to pay this pittance. At the same time Carvalho wrote to the officers in charge ordering them to spare no diligence in inducing the youths to yield, showing them how much they would please the King, and how much they might hope for from his liberality, and even promising, on the part of his Majesty, anything they chose to ask. It was not likely that those who had stood firm till now would yield to the allurement of ten pence a day; and they answered that they did not hold their vocation so cheap, and as the author of the *Compendio* tells us, as was once answered to a more powerful tyrant, *Non oportet de hac re respondere tibi.*

Finding it was useless making further efforts with the students, the Minister caused a report to be spread that they were to be exiled, but that the novices, not having yet taken any obligations, were to be stript of their habit in spite of their resistance and sent to their homes. On October 5, those at Coimbra received notice that the next morning the officer Castro would see them all, as he had a communication to make to them on the part of the King. They knew what this meant, and prepared themselves for the trial by receiving Holy Communion with special fervour. At the appointed time Castro entered the room where the novices were assembled to receive him. He

was not prepared for the sight that met his eyes. A long line of youths, scarcely more than children, of whom the eldest we are told had scarcely attained sixteen years, with eyes upon the ground, stood drawn up before him. The bloom of their youth graced by the modest custody of their eyes, and the respectfulness of their whole deportment would have made an impression upon any one. He felt himself at a disadvantage from the outset. His first words were to tell them to raise their eyes and look at him. As no one did so, he singled out the one who seemed to be the youngest of them all, and asked him in a kind manner why he did not look up. The novice, with a simplicity which was certainly not of this age, answered that it was against the rule to do so, unless ordered by the Superior. 'But I am your Superior now,' said Castro. 'I shall not look up,' said the novice, 'unless told to do so by the Father Minister.' There are many who will despise such formation as this reveals, and think it a way of forming slaves and not freemen; and we can easily believe that the circumstances may have added something to the ordinary simplicity of the novice on this occasion. But it is a subject for reflection that thus had been formed the men who were now accused of usurping all sway in Europe and America, and of exercising such a despotism over whole races of men that in ten years the whole of Europe would have failed to break it; and that such really was the training of the men who civilized the Indians in America, who endured the stake in Japan, and who filled the pulpits of Cathedrals and the chairs of Universities in Europe. It was based on an old principle, which this age is loath to see, that they know best how to use a sense with fruit who have learned to control it. On receiving this answer, Castro changed his tone, and told them, with severity of manner, that if they persevered in their obstinacy they should be disnaturalized and exiled for ever from their country, without a hope of seeing their friends and relations more; but that if they would abandon the Society and return to their homes, they would give great pleasure to his Majesty, who promised them honours and great favours from his royal

benevolence. They were to choose their lot, but he cautioned them to consider well before answering. They answered unanimously that they had considered the subject well before the crucifix; that they were grieved at having to pass their lives under disgrace with his Majesty, whom they were not conscious of having offended in the slighest degree; that they trusted in his goodness and piety, that he would not take it ill, if they followed the holy vocation to which God had called them; and that whatever place should be chosen for their exile, they would live content in the possession of God's grace, and that habit in which they were determined to live and die. This answer was enough. Castro at once dismissed them and remained not a little confused at his defeat at the hands of this young battalion of the Society. When this scene was related to Carvalho, he asked the name of the young Father whose influence upon those youths had been so injurious. By a curious coincidence, it was a relation of his own; his name was Joseph de Carvalho. The Minister ordered him at once to be conducted to prison. This generous youth continued to the last moment to exhort his younger brethren to persevere in their vocation, embraced each one before parting, gave the relic he wore round his neck to the guard who conducted him, and went cheerfully to his dungeon, the doors of which were to remain closed upon him till eighteen years after, when, the day of retribution having at length come, with so many others, he was given back to life.

All efforts having now failed to induce these generous youths to give up their vocation, Carvalho determined to send them all into exile. This resolution was communicated to them on October 20, and at the same time two letters were read to them, one from the Cardinal addressed to the youths themselves, exhorting them for the last time to abandon the Society, and the other from the Minister to Castro, expressing his astonishment that they refused to avail themselves of the royal clemency, and warning them that they were not suffering for their faith, that they were not to expect to be martyrs, and that their refusal of his Majesty's

offers was not constancy, but a seditious obstinacy. When this was finished, the one who acted as Superior, named Francisco Taveira, answered in the name of all, 'that it was a great grief to them not to be able to comply with the wishes of his Eminence and the Prime Minister of his Majesty; that they were not insensible to the pains of exile and of the abandonment of their country for ever, but they believed they had not sufficient reason for abandoning an Order in which they had consecrated themselves perpetually to God, and that even if they had such reasons, they would in that case have recourse to their General or the Pope, who alone could free them from the bonds by which they had bound themselves. As to the judgment which men would pass upon their constancy, they did not occupy themselves with that, but left themselves entirely in the hands of God, Who penetrated the recesses of their hearts, and knew better than men how to judge whether their firmness in their purpose was a laudable constancy or only a reprehensible ostentation;' and finally, he said 'that all were firmly resolved to suffer exile rather than lay aside the religious habit.' As there appeared nothing more to be gained, Castro now announced that Oct. 24 was fixed for their departure; but, by way of a last attempt to break their constancy, he told them that they must not expect to be sent to Italy, that there were plenty of islands in the Portuguese dominions and desert spots on the coast of Africa where they might be confined. These last words of malicious falsehood fell like a thunderbolt on two who had not strength to face the horrors which the cruel ingenuity of Castro represented to them; and thus was this fine wheat again and again sifted by trial, that separated from all that was unsound, it might be fit to become the true bread of Christ. What caused these two to fall away only animated the rest to new courage by the nearer view of the cross which they ardently desired to carry for the love of their Divine Master.

On the morning of the 24th, an immense crowd filled the church of the College. The whole community received the Holy Communion amidst the tears and lamentations of the

spectators, who looked on the departure of this great company of youths, full of all those energies which singleness of purpose, and religious spirit, together with birth and education, could awaken, as a foreboding of bitter misfortune to themselves and an irreparable calamity to Portugal. We can imagine that some among them saw that degradation of all holy things that was to come over the once so favoured Portugal, and groaned aloud that the hand of a tyrant was able in its blind fury to deprive future generations of so much good. The young religious received the Bread of Angels with the same modesty and calmness and self-possession as if it had been but one of the oft-recurring feasts on which they had been accustomed to meet together as brethren around the altar, and not the last time on which they were to kneel together before being cast away, for all they knew, to pine on a desert island, or to perish by fever on the pestilential coasts of Africa. These young soldiers knew where their strength lay, and the *hæc mihi sufficit* of St. Ignatius was their arm of defence.[7] The preparations for departure were simple. Each one was allowed to take with him a little bundle of clean linen as his whole equipment, and this was soon ready. In the evening, Castro went round to every room, entered the name of the occupant in a book, and reminded him that it was not yet too late to save all; but the grain was well-nigh purified, and no one was moved by his words. In the evening they all assembled in the church to receive the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament for the last time, and at about an hour before sunset, one hundred and forty-five in number, they were at the gate, ready to depart. A few among the number were sick, but so anxious were they not to be separated from their brethren, that they prevailed on the physician to allow them to go into exile with the rest. It was near midnight when the journey began. Sixteen carriages had been provided, and one litter for the sick; horses were ready for the rest. The procession was headed by a sergeant, accompanied by a small detachment of cavalry. These were followed by

[7] Last words of the prayer composed by St. Ignatius, ending, 'Da mihi amorem tuum et gratiam, nam hæc mihi sufficit.'

the carriages and litter, each of which was attended by two soldiers as guards. After these came a long line of horsemen, guarded by a file of infantry, and at intervals a detachment of cavalry carrying torches. The procession was closed by two king's officers in a carriage, followed by a body of cavalry and the carts carrying the baggage. The inhabitants of Coimbra followed them with their blessings, and many were the tears and loud the lamentations that accompanied the violent carrying off of men of whom no one knew anything but good. The journey was painful, owing to the state of the weather and the want of accommodation in the places where they stopped. It usually occupied only two days, but it was the 28th before they reached Oporto. Here they met the Fathers from Braganza and Braga, and the whole number, amounting to two hundred and thirty individuals, were crammed into the college, which was calculated to contain no more than thirty. Those of Braganza, sixteen only in number, had been conducted by a guard of sixty soldiers, with drums beating, and all the parade that could increase the humiliation of their situation, as if they had been public enemies. But the officer who had charge of the Fathers of Braga, Antonio Leyte Campos by name, was a very different man from the rest. He hated the cruelty and injustice shown to these innocent men, and when he saw a youth wavering in his vocation, took him aside, and exhorted him to be firm; but he had to pass his charge on to one Ferdinando Leyte Lupo, whose brutality made up for the kindness of his predecessor. He went so far as to make his soldiers drive back with naked swords the weeping crowd that gathered round their line of march.

At Oporto still greater trials awaited our youths. Not only were all the efforts to make those who were not professed give up their vocation, renewed with greater force and more insidious art, as is often the case when the crown is close at hand, and to such effect that three, who had stood all previous trials, failed at the last hour; but here a letter was published in which the Cardinal gave the Professed Fathers leave to join any other Order, or even to remain in the country, provided they would comply with the one con-

dition of deserting their vocation, thus proving again that their habit was their only crime, as by stripping themselves of it, instead of being abominable criminals whom it was the duty of all good citizens to avoid, they became good subjects, and were restored to all the rights of citizens, and this, on the authority of the Cardinal himself, was the most secure road to salvation. Here too was witnessed again that barbarous neglect even of what was most necessary for health, of which I have already spoken, which forces on us the belief that, failing to break the constancy of these noble youths by the constant harassing pressure to which they had been subjected, and not daring in the face of humanity to torture this tender flesh upon the rack, if racks enough could have been found for so many, with an ingenuity truly diabolical, Carvalho determined to overcome their resolution by exposing them to the lengthened torture of worn-out nature, heaping upon these frail bodies, already wearied with fatigue and undermined with grief, burthens which none but those who had the souls of giants could have borne. They had the souls of giants, and the constancy of these youths will ever be a glory to Portugal, as the name of their persecutor will be its infamy. The day fixed for their departure was November 5. On that day they were told to be ready to start, they were not told whither. They received the news with joy, and sang a *Te Deum* in the church in thanksgiving for the favours they had received from God, and with light hearts, each carrying his little bundle, which was carefully examined by the officers to see that it contained nothing but what had been allowed, a little before midnight, two hundred and sixteen in number, of whom twenty-two only were priests, they proceeded to the quay.

No unprejudiced mind will reflect on the spirit which animated these young men, accepting from God the cruelties which He had allowed to be inflicted on them, thanking Him for the patience He had given them, and then turning their backs upon friends and country, without a hope of ever seeing them again, going with joy of heart to the place of embarkation without knowing whither in the whole world they were

to be carried, remembering too that this was not an isolated case, but that the conduct of the great majority was everywhere guided by the same spirit, and not say to itself, 'Evidently these men were not what they were said to be by their enemies.' And no lover of the Society can reflect on these events without blessing God for the grace He gave them, while no member of the Order can do so without humbling himself and emulating in his heart the example they have set him. They were placed on board three little vessels, scarcely large enough to contain them, and as orders had been given everywhere to treat them with rigour, they were placed in the hold, while the soldiers and others occupied the upper part of the ships. They made sail at once, and soon reached the mouth of the port; but the sea was found to be too high for vessels of that size to go out, and then, it may be said, their real sufferings began. They were kept eight days in their floating prison, confined day and night, even for sleeping and eating, almost without the possibility of moving, in a place so small that there was hardly room for them to lie side by side. The air soon became so pestilential, that it was doubtful whether life could be preserved much longer. In this extremity, they wrote a petition to the Senate of Oporto, begging for permission to land. No answer was returned, but the soldiers themselves becoming ill, orders were sent to convey the Jesuits by night with all secrecy to the fort of St. John, which was near. Here they were kept ten days, all confined in one large room, in circumstances little better than those from which they had been rescued, till November 22, when they were put on board some galleys and conveyed to Lisbon. At this port a Swedish vessel was in readiness to convey them to Genoa, and whilst they were being taken on board, one poor youth, in spite of his tears and entreaties, was taken on shore, stripped by force of his habit, and sent to his friends. In his place, eight Fathers, taken from the prison of Azeytano, were added to the number of the exiles, and so, on November 28, two hundred and twenty-three in number, they sailed from the Tagus.

The voyage was painful, on account of a succession of storms and calms. But the captain, who was a Lutheran, showed them a compassion which they had met with from few of their own countrymen. One of their number, named John Morier, having died on board, his companions sang the Office of the Dead before committing the body to the deep; and throughout the voyage they had full permission to enjoy all those exercises of devotion, which alone could give them comfort. Every day, when the weather permitted, Mass was said at an altar prepared with as much decency as possible. Twice a week all who were not priests received the Holy Communion. Every evening they sang the Litanies before a statue of the Madonna. The meditations, examinations of conscience, and spiritual readings were practised with all the exactness of a regular college, and these simple, religious youths, deprived of everything, celebrated the feasts of St. Francis Xavier and the Nativity of Our Lord with as much joy of heart as if they had been in a palace in possession of all things. In the port of Genoa, they were kept waiting a fortnight, by way of quarantine, and, after all, were refused permission to land, and sent on to Civita Vecchia, like the party before them. During the delay another of the party died, Louis Ribeiro, a youth of very high promise. He had truly left the world before the world had left him, for in the little bundle which contained all he possessed, was found nothing besides a small quantity of linen, a discipline, and a hair-shirt. Though the exiles were not allowed to land, they were loaded with favours by all classes in the city, and on January 18 sailed for Civita Vecchia carrying with them the sympathies and the blessings of the inhabitants. Weather compelled them to put in at Gorgone and Leghorn, and on February 7 they cast anchor at Civita Vecchia.

In the meantime the youths assembled at Evora were exposed to trials similar to those I have described. There was, however, one great difference. The officer Montegro was a man of conscience, and though he did his duty by reading to them the letters of the Cardinal and the Minister, he showed

them clearly that he admired and approved their constancy in preferring exile to the loss of their vocation. To induce them to yield, a report was spread that their brethren at Coimbra had renounced their vocation, and gone to their homes. Like the martyrs of old, on whom a similar deceit was so often practised, they answered that the misfortune of their brethren, even if it were true, would not make their vocation less dear to them: but it was false, as to their great joy they discovered when, two months after, the two parties met on the shores of Italy. On the whole, the number of those who yielded to temptation at Evora, though greater than at Coimbra, was very small, and less than must be expected in any large community, however fervent, when exposed to extraordinary trials. Here, however, two Professed Fathers filled their companions with grief by yielding to the temptation, and they, as well as all others who renounced their vows, were received with open arms and every demonstration of affection by the Cardinal reformer. The exiles started from Evora on December 22, to the number of ninety-eight, of whom three only were priests. One of these was Father Luiz de Vasconcellos, professed of four vows, a man broken down with age and infirmity, who had spent the greater part of a long life in the missions of Asia. He was offered permission in the King's name to remain in the country, and even to wear his habit. But the generous old man would not let himself be separated from the youths, over whom he had been made Superior, and went cheerfully into exile with them. The officer who had charge of the journey to Lisbon, Don Joseph Ignatius Britto, treated them with great kindness, and did what he could to alleviate their sufferings. At Monte Mayor, where they spent the night, the inhabitants showed them extraordinary marks of esteem, and one of the principal gentlemen of the place, Martin Joseph Leboreiro, was not satisfied till he was allowed to wait on them at table. Great efforts were made to persuade one of the young men to visit his family, who lived near this place, but though it seemed to be for the last time, nothing could prevail on him to run the risk of being separated from his brethren,

and perhaps losing what he valued more than anything else in the world, his religious habit. At Lisbon, nineteen who had been confined in the prisons of Azeytano were added to their number, which now made one hundred and fifteen, and on January 5, 1760, they sailed from the Tagus. A delay at the mouth of the river gave the agents of Carvalho opportunity to make a last effort to persuade these youths to abandon their vocation. They, consequently, mingled familiarly among them, talking kindly to each, showing them, on the one hand, the sufferings of exile, and on the other the comforts of home, and the joy of their friends if they would only return to them; and, as if it pleased God to teach us that we are never to be off our guard as long as the probation of life lasts, two who had till then resolutely resisted every temptation gave way at the last moment, and lost the crown when it was almost in their hands.

The voyage was not eventful. After having received, like the others, every demonstration of affection at Genoa, they reached Civita Vecchia on February 6, 1760. The two parties, amounting in all to about three hundred and thirty-six, being now united together after so long a separation, and after having resisted so many hardships, it is not easy to conceive how great must have been their joy, how fervent their thanksgiving to God for having carried them through their trials, or how small their sufferings already seemed, which were rewarded even here by so much peace of soul. They were treated with the same kindness as those who had gone before them, and sent to Rome to be distributed through the different houses according to their age and state. The novices and those who had not yet begun their philosophy were sent to the Novitiate of Sant' Andrea. It happened that at that time, the Cardinals Charles Rezzonico and Mark Antony Colonna, with Monsignor Panfili Colonna, nominated as Nuncio in Paris, were making the Spiritual Exercises in the novitiate. These Princes of the Church, moved with devotion at the sight of these young confessors of the religious state, could find no other expression of their admiration for the grace which they saw working in

them, than setting an example of supreme humility and charity by serving them at table. I may conclude this chapter with the words addressed to the General by His Holiness Pope Clement XIII., who could not think of the constancy of these youths without being moved to tears: 'Great honour have these young men done your Society: they have not only shown how well they had been trained, but they have also proved how much more efficacious is Divine grace than any human power.'

CHAPTER XI.

Portuguese Dominions beyond the Sea.

If the Society of Jesus suffered cruelty in its expulsion from Portugal, the treatment it met with in the foreign dominions of that State was far more severe. It has been said that the whole attention of the Minister seemed to be taken up with the Jesuits; but the little territory of Portugal did not suffice for his zeal. Not an island of the Atlantic, not a station in Africa or India, not a mission in the interior of the Continent of America was overlooked; each received its orders, and generally its special commissioner, with full powers to confiscate all the property belonging to the Fathers, to put their persons under close guard, and to send them as prisoners to Portugal, with all the rigour that would have been due to the worst of criminals. Pamphlets filled with calumnies were distributed in these remote regions at the royal expense. Decrees, bearing the name of the King, declaring the Jesuits guilty of great crimes against religion and his Majesty, were read to the simple Christians, who till then had looked on them with the reverence due to apostles, and felt for them the love of children for a father; but in no case, except in that of the absurd conspiracy of September 3, was a crime even laid to the charge of any particular person, much less proved against him.

Of all the foreign possessions of Portugal there was none in which the hand of vengeance fell so heavily on the Society as in Brazil—that Brazil which had owed its Christianity to the sweat and blood of so many sons of the Society; where, according to the testimony of Robertson, 'the Jesuits alone had entered for the purposes of humanity;' where God had given to Anchieta a dominion over beasts, as if to figure by this his conquest of innumerable souls, sunk to the level of brutes; where for nearly two centuries Jesuits had borne untold fatigues in their struggles with the vices of the barbarians, and all the difficulties of heat and cold, of inaccessible mountains and almost impenetrable forests, of tropical rains and parching drought. It was from Brazil that they were to be ejected with a barbarity that is hardly exceeded in the annals of tyranny. The reader would hardly credit the details of this expulsion if I had space to put them before him. I shall give a few of the most remarkable features that have to come down to us, but the depth of suffering inflicted will never be told. We shall see men, venerable for age and acquirements, worn out with labour for the salvation of the wretched inhabitants, seized like felons, and guarded by soldiers with muskets loaded with ball and bayonets fixed, with orders to fire at once on any one who attempted to escape. We shall see them conducted by soldiers over hundreds of miles by forced marches over almost impassable roads, amid the torrents of the rainy season, worn out with fatigue, famished with hunger, shut up at night in a dwelling without anything but the bare ground on which to rest, or even to eat their wretched food, kept under strict guard for months, obliged to answer to the roll twice a day as if they had been criminals, and searched again and again, even in their inner clothing, to see if they had secreted some trifle of what was their own by every law. Here too, through an ingenuity of malice, hitherto recorded only of the Jews, but glorious beyond expression for the example of their Master, we shall see them forced to walk guarded by soldiers in company with notorious criminals, while drums beat to give notice of their disgrace to their grieved neophytes.

And when it might have been hoped that at least the sea would separate them from their tormentors, we shall find them cast into the hold of ill-found and ill-provisioned ships, stifled with heat and parched with intolerable thirst, or kept for a week together with no place on which to take rest except a coil of rope, a corner of the deck, or some spot amongst the filth of cattle; left to the mercy of men who had no master but avarice, or to accident, whether they perished by famine or the longer martyrdom of brutal treatment; and when this pilgrimage was over, after lying in the Tagus with the ports closed, lest civilized men should see their emaciated forms, carried off to the dungeons of St. Julian or Juncheira, there to languish till death released them, or till the King, in whose name all this was done, was summoned by his own Judge. In all this the victims had one consolation, which made everything sweet: it was the consciousness of their innocence and the words of their Divine Master, *Ecce prædixi vobis.*

At the time we are speaking of, the Society of Jesus in Portuguese America was divided into two Provinces, those of Brazil and Maranhão. The story of each is nearly the same, but that very sameness helps us to realize how relentless was the persecution which was thus extended to so many who could have known nothing of the supposed crimes which served as a pretext for so much injustice. The Province of Brazil contained, besides the Seminary of Belem, six colleges, and sixty-two residences or missions, and numbered four hundred and forty-five members.[1] Orders were sent to assemble the Fathers from all these stations in the three ports of Bahia, St. Sebastian, and Pernambuco, to be shipped to Lisbon. The Bishop in each diocese had been delegated by Saldanha as reformer of the Society; and we have seen the noble conduct of the Archbishop of Bahia and the reward he met with for it. It was on January 6, 1760, that a vessel of war arrived at this port, conveying the new Governor, the Marquis of Cavradio, successor of Don Marcos Noronha. The new

[1] Catalogus Provinciarum, domorum, &c. Soc. Jesu anno 1749.

Governor brought the letters of the King accepting the resignation of the Archbishop made five years previously, on conditions never fulfilled, and now made use of as a pretext for expelling him from his see, and declaring it vacant. He also carried with him full power to break up all the establishments of the Society, and to send the Fathers prisoners to Lisbon. The first act of the new Governor was to invest all the houses of the Society in the city with soldiers. The community were summoned by bell to the chapel, and a strict search was carried on for several hours through the house. Perhaps it was thought that great treasures would be found, or at least papers compromising the Fathers, but though the College was eight hours under this ordeal, nothing was brought to light. The few things of value belonging to the church, even chalices and pyxes, were carried away to Lisbon to help to defray the expenses of the commissioners. In the midst of the darkness of the night the Fathers were suddenly led out under guard, as they thought, to execution; but, to their relief, it was only a precaution to assemble them all in the novitiate, because there were not troops enough in the town to keep a guard of sufficient strength at the three houses which the Society had there. The novices themselves had been stript of their habits and sent away, in spite of their earnest entreaties to be allowed to remain with the Fathers. Many of these poor youths, belonging to Portuguese families, had no home to go to, and were obliged to depend for a lodging on the hospitality of friends. The Fathers were conducted over the two miles of road leading to the novitiate by soldiers with their bayonets fixed and their muskets loaded with ball. For four months they were kept confined in this house; and during all this time no opportunity was lost of harassing them, in the hope of wearing out the constancy of a few. Everything that was brought to the house was strictly examined; even the food was pulled about, lest something should be concealed within it, till it was hardly fit for use. Twice a day their numbers were counted in presence of a captain, a notary, and a subaltern, each of whom had to attest in writing that he had seen each

individual; and all the means used in Portugal to induce the young men to leave the Society were tried here with the same success. So great indeed was the eagerness of these agents to discredit the Society by inducing its children to abandon it, that the Bishop of St. Sebastian, passing all limits, went so far as to declare those Fathers excommunicated who exhorted the young men to perseverance, and for this fault had four of the older Fathers shut up in a fortress.

The account given by Father Lynch, formerly Provincial of Brazil, and related in the letter from Rome already noticed, is as follows: 'He had returned to the great College of Bahia, where he was Spiritual Father, when the first orders came to the Governor to seize them. The orders were thus executed. One day the Fathers were surprised to see the College surrounded with soldiers, and an officer at the gate with the King's orders for the religious (sick not excepted) to assemble in the common hall. They accordingly did so, and the sick were brought out of their beds. They did not know what would be the end of this, and so prepared themselves for the worst. But the officer did no more than call over their names, and make them pass one by one before him; after this they were allowed to return to their chambers. This ceremony was performed several days continuously without any further consequences. One day, the bell ringing as usual for them to come down to be numbered by the King's officer, they left their rooms as a person does when he proposes not to be absent above a quarter of an hour. Father Lynch was saying his office, and putting his spectacles in the leaves of his Breviary to mark the place, came with it under his arm, and with his cap in his hand. The rest, both old and young, came in a similar unsuspecting manner; but not one of them ever saw his room again. The soldiers who had constantly stood sentinels at every door about the house, were drawn up at the gate: all the religious were ordered to march out and were kept in confinement in different places for three months. As they passed along, the poor Indians, their own servants, and the common people, crowded about them to kiss their

clothes, and uttered the most pitiful complaints ever heard. The treatment of the novices was somewhat different. 'They were, I think, about forty-six in number. The officer ordered their cassocks to be torn off their backs, which was done in the rudest manner; and the poor innocent creatures were sent away to their parents, perhaps never more to see their late companions.'

It was thus the Fathers were taken unawares, so as to guard against their taking away or concealing anything that could compromise them. And yet, though they were thus called away at a moment's notice, nothing was ever found that could give the least handle of accusation against them.

Whilst those of Bahia were thus detained in the novitiate, detachments of soldiers were sent to the missions of the interior to break up all the residences of the Jesuits, and bring the Fathers under guard to the city. Some of these missions were several hundred miles distant. The season was exceeding dry, and the sufferings of the journey were terrible. Often they had to travel over eighty or a hundred miles of uninhabited country without meeting with water, and this under a burning sun; and as it was the time of Lent, and the missioners wished to observe the law of the Church to the letter, it was often two in the afternoon before they tasted food. Though every haste was made, the Fathers at Bahia had set sail before those from the interior could reach the city, and they in their turn were kept close prisoners, waiting for a ship to take them to Lisbon, and exposed like their brethren to every annoyance that the malice of the officials suggested. The Fathers from St. Paul were taken to St. Sebastian, and here it was that they were associated with malefactors to render their state more odious. The order of the march was as follows. First came five mulatto criminals in chains, conducted by a mounted sergeant, and attended by infantry. These were followed by the Jesuit Fathers, who were at first carried in litters by Indians, each litter being attended by a soldier, and the procession was closed by the Governor and two officers on horseback, and a body of

infantry marching to the sound of the drum. If those from the interior suffered from drought, here they had to travel over roads which the rains had turned into swamps, frequently wet to the skin themselves with the continual rains, hurried on with scarcely time allowed for refreshments, till the Indians were no longer able to carry the litters. Then they were urged on on foot at such a pace that two of the old men were unable to continue the journey, and remained the whole night on the mountains, exposed to the cold and rain. At length, after great fatigues and hardships, they arrived at a little port called Cubatano, where they were shut up, wet as they were, all in one room, with no article of furniture of any kind, and with nothing but the floor on which to take rest; and, after a day of extreme fatigue, left without food till close on midnight. The next day was the feast of the Espousals of the Blessed Virgin Mary. They asked that one at least might be allowed to say Mass, but this was refused on the plea that all communication with other persons was forbidden, and that, as there were many persons about, the offering of the Holy Sacrifice would be a transgression of this order. And thus, whether from a slavish fear of offending the Minister or a desire to raise themselves in his favour, with very few exceptions these servants of the Crown, each according to his degree, added his portion to the already full cup of tribulation which it pleased God through their hands to send to His servants. The next day all the Fathers were put on board ship and taken to St. Sebastian. Here those who were not professed had to go through the usual ordeal of threats and entreaties to induce them to leave the Society. They were then shut up in the College till the ship was ready to sail, and in the meantime everything they had with them, every book and manuscript, was taken from them.

The party from St. Sebastian embarked on March 16, and reached the Tagus on June 6; those from Bahia sailed on April 19, and arrived on June 23; while those from Rio Janeiro and Pernambuco were at sea from the beginning of February till June 19. In all three cases they were treated

with an inhumanity that could hardly have been exceeded if they had been slaves. The weather was exceedingly hot, the space allotted to them confined, and, notwithstanding this, they were kept constantly in the lower part of the ship without being allowed to come upon deck or to breathe the fresh air, till the surgeon of the ship from St. Sebastian, who feared an epidemic on board, insisted that this should sometimes be permitted. But to keep this indulgence within the prescribed limits, soldiers stood with drawn swords at the entrance of the hold. Their food was vegetables cooked in sea-water, and the burning thirst which consumed them was not to be assuaged by the scanty allowance of water which was assigned to them for each day. They arrived in the Tagus more dead than alive, but instead of being allowed to land, they were kept close prisoners in the harbour, and even with the ports closed, that no one might see the sad state in which they were, thus taking away from them the little ventilation that had been allowed them.

The following passage from the letter already referred to, gives some idea of the horrors of this passage.

In the three ships they were all kept constantly under the hatches, as we do with Guinea slaves. Mass was said for them by a friar or a secular priest. Their food was beans and a small pittance of rice now and then, and a little bad water. No one can express or perhaps conceive what they suffered in this voyage. Some of them had been five months on board before they came to the coast of Portugal. Their thirst was terrible, and they were reduced to the most dreadful straits.[2] Five died in all the extremities of misery. One of them threw his almost lifeless limbs at the feet of one of their guardians, entreating him by all that is sacred and tender to give him a little water. He was answered with indignation, that such as he must expect no relief; and after the man had reviled the suppliant in the most opprobrious manner, he ordered a very small quantity to be given him. It was just enough to let him feel more sensibly the pangs of thirst, but not to mitigate them, and he soon after expired. The sick and dying were refused the last sacraments. In the man-of-war, in which there were only thirty-nine,

[2] I omit a circumstance here which is too disgusting to relate.

two or three obtained leave to say Mass now and then, but the crew were all forbidden to be present. It would be an endless task to recount the sufferings of this voyage of misery; the sufferers themselves could scarcely believe their own remembrance, if their experience had not left them every kind of proof. It is a most singular mark of Providence that two hundred and sixty of all ages could undergo so much with the loss of only five. In this condition they arrived at Lisbon on St. Antony's Day, but were not allowed to land. They remained off the bar for fifteen days, so strictly guarded with double sentinels that during that time they could not hear a word of their brethren in Portugal, or of anything that had passed in the kingdom. They were consigned to a large Genoese ship that had been built for a man-of-war, and had but few guns on board, and in this they all met once more. They were not suffered to come on deck till out of sight of shore, for such were the captain's orders. They afterwards had the liberty of the ship, provided for themselves as well as they could, and arrived at Civita Vecchia after a favourable passage. After all this misery, not a word of complaint is to be heard from any one of them. Father Lynch, like a spiritual man, told me they might have suffered more, but hoped that God would accept of what they had endured for His name. At Civita Vecchia they left one dying and carried seven to the hospital. They have been all half devoured by vermin, and smell strongly of the filth of a foul ship.

The same writer describes their arrival in Rome as follows.

Last night, about an hour after dark, twenty-two of the new inhabitants arrived in chaises from Civita Vecchia, and every second day they will be followed by as many more, till all have left the place. I do not know how to describe the satisfaction I had on seeing these good confessors of Christ. There were sixteen priests (all old men of about sixty or seventy years), two scholars, and four lay-brothers. As soon as the Fathers were helped out of the carriages, I witnessed what I think was the finest procession I ever saw. Some of the old men were leaning on sticks, others on lay-brothers, all with a great pair of beads about their neck, a large crucifix stuck in their girdle, with a cap in their hands, such as you have seen in paintings of some of our Indian missionaries, their faces emaciated with misery, their eyes staring, as it were, looking round for their accustomed sentinels. As they went along I heard a confused noise of

Scripture sentences—'Domine judica causam tuam;' 'Exurge Domine;' 'Si patimur et conglorificabimur;' 'Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam,' seemed to be the end of all.

The Catalogue to which I have referred gives the names of forty-two missions of the Society in the Vice Province of Maranhão, besides the Colleges of Para and Maranhão. These were served by one hundred and forty-five members of the Society, of whom eighty-eight were priests, but we have seen that during the government of Francis Xavier de Mendoza many had been already sent to Portugal. The work of destruction in this mission which had cost so many sacrifices was now to be completed.

On June 7, 1760, two ships arrived at Maranhão, bearing orders for the immediate expulsion of the Jesuits. It is hardly necessary to recount the details, which differed but little from what has already been related. The College was immediately invested with troops, and detachments were sent to the other stations to bring in the Fathers from the missions. The decree of expulsion was published in the streets, and all Jesuits were declared, amidst beating of drums, traitors, forgers, and enemies of the King and of the peace of the State. Here they had to endure the usual guard, the usual search; and here, as usual, they were paraded through the streets between files of soldiers to the place of embarkation. The number of prisoners here was eighty-six. They were confined in the lower part of the vessel, destined for cargo, with no light except what came to them through the hatches. Their only bed was the floor of the hold, on which salt had been stored. The heat and closeness of their prison rendered it a place of intense suffering, and in addition to this they were kept for two entire days without food, so that one was on the point of dying of hunger, and would have sunk if the sentinel at the hatch had not secretly given him some scraps of bread. On July 14, they sailed for Para, and only when they were out of sight of land were they allowed to breathe the air, and then it was amongst the cattle that were carried for the provisions of the ship, and under the strictest prohibition not to speak to any one. At the same

time the food was so bad, and the place in which they had to take it so disgusting, that the pangs of extreme hunger alone could force them to eat it. Many on board looked with compassion at these venerable men, in so pitiful a state, but the terror of the vengeance of the Minister deterred them from giving them any open succour. On the 24th, after having escaped an extreme danger from a tempest, in which many of the crew wished to make their confession to the Fathers, but were not allowed, they reached the harbour of Para in so sad a state that had the voyage lasted longer, few of them, it was said, could have survived. No sooner had they cast anchor than they were boarded by a royal officer, who took down their names, made them give up whatever money they had and declare on oath that they had no more, and examined their pockets to be sure that nothing was concealed. They were then conducted to shore, where they found the beach lined with soldiers, who escorted them to the College.

At Para the orders of the Minister had been executed with even greater rigour than elsewhere, owing to the zeal of the Governor, Don Francis Xavier, the brother of the Minister, and Mgr. Bulhoens, who was soon to receive his reward in the Archbishopric of Evora, to which he was now promoted. The College was, as usual, closely guarded by soldiers, and thither those living in the other houses had been brought under escort like malefactors, to be placed under a common guard; and, as in other places, vigorous efforts were made to induce the younger men to abandon the Society. In this the Archbishop distinguished himself, using all possible arguments, promises, and threats, even quoting passages of Scripture, opinions of Doctors, and, in his own way, the example of saints, but with no more success than elsewhere. One young man, who had been known to the Governor in Portugal, was taken to his palace, treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality for four or five days, in hopes of winning him, and being found inflexible, was sent back to prison with the rest. It is needless to make reflection on these facts; they all bear one testimony. No individual was accused of any crime; the zeal of the Arch-

bishop did not attempt to lay against one of them a charge of violation of the canons. The facts were too well known; they were guilty only of being Jesuits, and had they but consented to be faithless to their vow, which as Catholics their persecutors acknowledged to be holy, they would have been held to have fulfilled all justice and earned the esteem of the King.

At length, on September 4, after being again subjected to a strict examination, they were conducted by soldiers, at midnight, to the place of embarkation, and conveyed on board a man-of-war, to the number of a hundred and fifty. As usual, the lower part of the ship was assigned to them. For the first eight days they were totally unprovided with any form of bed, and during the whole voyage, which lasted till December 2, they had to endure the stench of the hold, the stifling closeness arising from so many persons being confined together, together with the burning heat of the tropics, added to a cruel neglect even of the most absolute necessaries of meat and drink. Four fell victims to the hardships of the voyage; several times it happened that Fathers fainted from want of food, and some were driven to barter articles of their clothing with the sailors to sustain their lives. In the Tagus every precaution was taken to prevent their being seen. They were again subjected to the usual efforts to induce them to leave the Society, but all having triumphantly overcome this last trial, some were taken to the prisons of St. Julian, and the remainder embarked on board a Danish vessel bound for Civita Vecchia, where they arrived January 17, 1761.

In the vast regions of the East there were at this time a little more than three hundred Jesuits divided among the four Provinces of Goa, Malabar, China, and Japan, which were all comprised in the Assistancy of Portugal. The two former came directly under the authority of the Portuguese Government; those of China and Japan only inasmuch as Macao, where they had their head-quarters, belonged to Portugal. Great as was the need of Apostolic labourers in this vast field, and abundant as was the harvest of which it now gave promise, Carvalho was bent on not leaving a Jesuit in any spot to which his influence reached. He sent the most stringent orders to

have them all sent prisoners to Lisbon, as if he dreaded lest the smallest root or fibre of so pernicious a plant should poison a soil which belonged to Portugal.

It is not necessary to recount the history of the expulsion of the Fathers successively from each mission. In substance the story is generally the same, with various degrees of cruelty according to the inhumanity of the agents employed. I shall give only some of the principal incidents: the reader will have sufficient means to fill up the outline for himself. The decree of expulsion, as has been seen, was published in Lisbon on September 18, 1759; but long before this the new Viceroy, who reached Goa on December 17, 1758, and who therefore must have left Portugal before the affair of September 3, brought with him orders to receive no Jesuit to audience. He had moreover been charged by Carvalho to distribute large numbers of copies of the *Brief Relation.* The Archbishop also received a supply by the same conveyance, but, seeing the character of the libel, did his part to suppress it. Shortly after the arrival of the Viceroy a vessel from Macao arrived at Goa. As in Portugal it was usual for the enemies of the Society to accuse them of having engrossed all the trade of Brazil and the Indies, so in Goa they accused them of having in their hands all the commerce of China. The arrival of this ship gave a good opportunity of investigating the truth of the accusation. The cargo was officially examined, and nothing was found that could give the slightest ground for accusation, and the Viceroy is reported to have exclaimed: 'Oh, how sound must that body be, whose members are so upright and honourable, and against whom such calumnies are spread!' Notwithstanding this he adhered strictly to the orders received from the Court of Portugal. In the same month of September, therefore long before any notice of the decree of expulsion or even of the sentence of January 12 could have reached the Indies, the College of the Society in Goa was invested with troops; the Fathers were assembled in the church while the College was searched, or, to speak more correctly, sacked. They were then taken under escort first to one convent, then to another, and finally all

assembled again in their own College, till a ship was ready to take them to Portugal; and on December 20, 1760, to the number of one hundred and twenty-seven, they were put on board a vessel named the *Conception*, bound for Lisbon. The reader may judge of their sufferings in this long voyage when he is told that they were confined, as usual, at the bottom of the ship, that the place was almost without light, that the space allowed to each of them, owing to the smallness of the vessel, did not exceed four palms in length by two in breadth, so that the captain had vainly remonstrated at having to take so many, but was told that whether there was room or not, they must go;[3] that they were left in the greatest want of the most necessary articles; and that besides all this, the food during this long imprisonment was scanty and disgusting. During this long navigation they subsisted, says the author of the *Compendio*,[4] on rottenness, and if a proof of their sufferings were wanted, it would be found in the fact that twenty-three of their number died during the voyage, victims, as no one will deny, of the most cruel and unjust oppression. The vessel anchored in the Tagus at the end of May, 1761. Of those who reached Lisbon alive, many were not subjects of Portugal. These were conveyed from the prison on sea to swell the number of sufferers in the famous dungeons of St. Julian, or Juncheira. Besides these, many were fit only for an hospital, so that only forty-five subjects of Portugal remained to be sent to Italy; and to these were added fourteen taken from the prisons of Azeytano. These fifty-nine were consigned to a Danish captain to be conveyed to Civita Vecchia. As many among these were sick, they asked for the favour of having the Holy Oils on board, in case any of them should close their captivity at sea; but this was a grace which the refined barbarity of the Count St. Vincent, who superintended the embarkation, would not allow. It pleased God to preserve them from this need, but it was His will that their journey should still be full of difficulties.

On June 13 they were captured by Moorish pirates, and

[3] *Compendio Istorico*, p. 265. [4] P. 266.

taken prisoners to Algiers. It required no little courage of heart to face this new captivity, with the horrors of the voyage from Goa still fresh in their minds, and the hereditary cruelty of the Moors and their detestation of the name of Christian and Portuguese, before them. But they commended themselves to the Mother of God and to St. Aloysius, whose feast was close at hand, and took heart from the thought that they had offered themselves without reserve to God, and could have no greater mark of His approbation than the complete acceptance of the sacrifice. But God came to their relief in a way which they had not looked for. The corsairs having put a crew on board, and taken two of the Fathers as hostages, hastened into port with colours flying, announcing a prize. The report had been spread that the Jesuits possessed great riches, and the captain flattered himself with the expectation of chests of gold and other treasures, especially as he heard they had come from the Indies. The shore was lined with an immense crowd, and the sight of the two Fathers was the signal for an outburst of insult against the Christian name. But the Admiral in command of the port interposed, and took them to the house of a rich Moor, where they were received with all possible kindness and even treated with all the delicacies that the place afforded.

Meantime the Danish Consul, though differing from the captives both in nation and religion, moved with compassion at the sufferings which he saw awaited these innocent men, determined to do all in his power to liberate them. He represented to the Dey that an insult had been committed against the flag of his country which he was bound to resent; that these men were not to be considered Portuguese, as they were under sentence of perpetual banishment from their country; that instead of being rich, they possessed only the miserable clothes they wore; that there was not the least chance of the King of Portugal ransoming them; that the Pope had not the means to do so; that most of them were so sick or old as to be useless as slaves; so that the wisest thing he could do in his own interest was to get rid of them again as quickly as possible. The Dey, having ascertained that all this was true,

with a severity worthy of an Eastern story ordered the corsair to receive forty stripes on the spot, and five hundred during the three following days, with the condition, it is related, that if he survived them he was to be hanged. The hostages were then delivered up to the Consul, who took them to his house, supplied them with everything they needed, and told them that he could account for the conduct of the Dey only on the supposition of a special protection from heaven, so different was it from anything he had observed in him before. So God made use of the justice of a Lutheran and the humanity of a Moor to make up for the Christian charity which passion had stamped out of the breasts of the Catholic Portuguese. It is said that the Moorish Admiral, having gone on board the Danish ship at Algiers, and knowing Portuguese, entered into conversation with the Fathers, and having heard the alleged cause of their expulsion, said to the exiles: 'Did the Minister think that you, living at Goa, could have fired the shots at the King, or that old men like you had usurped his power? Depend on it, it is the little riches you possess that are the cause of all. If you had been poorer he would not have disturbed you.' He then added: 'There will be yet more earthquakes in Lisbon in punishment for the injustice with which the Portuguese treat the priests of the law which they profess.' Carvalho had imprisoned Jesuits who dared to say that the earthquakes were a chastisement from God; and thus the Mahometan acknowledged a truth which it was forbidden to Christians to confess. The remainder of the voyage was prosperous. They arrived at Civita Vecchia on July 8, 1761, and, after thirty-nine days of quarantine, were allowed to celebrate the feast of the Assumption in joy, after which they proceeded to Rome.

The resentment of Carvalho did not stop at Goa. It extended to the farthest East, and it was not his fault if a single Jesuit remained in the vast regions of China. From Japan they had already been extirpated by fire and sword; but there were many Fathers cultivating the vineyard of the Lord in the Empire of China, ignorant of what was going on in Portugal, and scarcely knowing the name of the man whose

enemies, as Jesuits, they found themselves. These missioners did not come under his jurisdiction, but the Governor of Macao did his best to learn from the Fathers of that city the names and residences of the missionaries scattered over the Chinese Empire, that he might the better secure their expulsion; and it was only the fear of drawing the wrath of the Emperor on the city of Macao that led him to refrain from having all the decrees accusing the Society of crimes translated into Chinese and sent to the Court. This was reserved for an exercise of zeal at a later period, and for the present the College at Macao and the house belonging to the Japanese Province in the same city, alone fell under the full weight of his wrath. It was not till July 4, 1762, that orders for the expulsion reached Macao. The author of the *Compendio* says this delay was attributed to the fact that the Fathers of China had been commissioned to make some valuable purchases for Carvalho, and he did not wish to disturb them till they were completed. However this was, on that very night they were led away by soldiers and armed slaves to the convents of the Franciscans and Dominicans, with orders to the Superiors to allow no communication with any one. They were received with the greatest kindness, and every possible commiseration for their sufferings was shown them. During their stay with these religious the College was stripped of everything, and all the furniture of whatever kind was sold to the highest bidder: even the sacred vessels of the Altar were sold, without any restriction, to idolaters. An exception, however, was made of those which were of gold or silver, which were set aside to be taken to Portugal. When this was completed, the Fathers were taken back to the College under the same escort, and confined in four little rooms, of which one was made to serve at the same time for refectory and chapel. Here they were closely confined till November 5, when they were conducted to the port. During all this time they suffered all the horrors of want of air from the fastening of the windows and the confinement of so many persons in a small space, added to the want of the most necessary precautions for cleanliness.

It was all on the one principle that any treatment was too good for them, and the more barbarous the way in which the Minister's orders were carried out, the better was the King served, and the higher were the prospects of those who so obeyed.

On the day named they were led, twenty-four in number, to the ship destined for them, and shut up in a small cabin, where they were strictly guarded by soldiers, besides being carefully counted every night during the ten days they remained at anchor. As usual, the provisions soon began to fail, and what there was was of the most wretched quality. It consisted of salted meat and fish, so tainted that they could hardly endure the smell. But God provided for them by causing the sailors to catch such quantities of fish on the voyage as had never been known before. At Talixeyra one of the Fathers died. His companions begged that the body might be taken on shore, which was close at hand, to have it buried in the church; but Christian burial was an honour not to be thrown away upon them. It was taken out to sea and thrown overboard. At this port they were transferred to a coast-guard ship, the captain of which, Manuel Gaetano de Sousa, deserves to be eternally remembered for the kindness he showed to the Fathers and the efforts he made to soften the hardships of the journey. His first act was to put the captain of the Macao vessel in irons for the barbarity with which he had treated the prisoners, and was only induced by the intercession of various persons, amongst whom were the Jesuits themselves, to set him at liberty. This good man, fearless of the consequences to himself, treated them throughout the long voyage with all the consideration he could, fed them as well as was in his power, gave them the liberty of the ship, and insisted on all the crew showing them the respect they deserved. It is sad to think that amongst so many officials of the Portuguese Crown whose lot was cast across the path of these innocent men, the humanity and justice of this officer should stand out as a brilliant, because so rare example. Nothing so illustrates on one hand the despotism of the Government, and on the

other the degrading cupidity and slavish fear which at this time marked so many of the Portuguese, as the small number who had the fortitude to choose a course of justice and honour in spite of the threats of a tyrant and the allurements of gain.

The voyage from Talixeyra to Goa lasted from the 9th to the 22nd of March. The exiles remained at Goa till February 4, 1764, lodged in a fortress, where they found a chapel dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, and were allowed to say Mass, a happiness which repaid them for all they had suffered. They were treated generally with kindness, but had to suffer from the dishonesty of those appointed to provide for them, who secretly deprived them of considerable portions of the food, and even of the medicines destined for them. On the day mentioned they again set sail, under the charge of a captain named Domenico de Faria Cruz, a man of Christian sentiments, who did all in his power to alleviate their sufferings; but here again his efforts were thwarted by the cupidity of the man who had charge of their table. As was often the case in those days, the vessel crossed the Atlantic, and touched at Bahia, in Brazil, and there many of the scenes we have already described were repeated. They were conducted on shore under guard, and kept close prisoners until they finally sailed for Lisbon; but here too, amid the almost universal prostitution of those who should have administered justice, we have bright characters standing out which it is a painful pleasure to contemplate. The royal Accountant having again and again tried to visit them, at length obtained permission under pretence of knowing a little medicine, and assisting one who was sick. He showed them every possible sign of esteem and compassion, embraced each one in turn, consoled them, and exhorted them to courage, and begged for the favour of an old habit of the Society, that he might have it placed in his tomb at his death. He received this precious memento on his knees, kissed it, watered it with his tears, and left the captives in extreme consolation at his piety. Many of the principal merchants asked to be allowed at least to provide for their support, but it was refused. As they were being led by soldiers to the boats,

to be taken on board, the royal commissary saluted them in these words: "Adieu, Fathers! I wish you a happy voyage; may God prosper you and conduct you happily, for we see things now-a-days which were never seen before in past ages." The voyage to Lisbon being made in charge of the same captain who had brought them to Bahia, everything possible was done to diminish the hardships of the captives. To such a length did he carry his kindness, that when there was a scarcity of water on board, and the crew were on short allowance, he made no difference in the quantity allowed the Fathers, and when he himself gave up his evening tea on this account, he would not deprive them of theirs. It would be necessary to have known their sufferings to appreciate the effect of this act of kindness upon men who had been everywhere treated as if life was too good for them. It is almost incredible, but it is a fact, that these poor exiles, who were guilty of no crime, to whose charge none was ever laid, closed this long series of hardships only to be conveyed at once to the dungeons of St. Julian, as if the more distant they had been from Portugal, the more guilty were they of the attempt against the King's life.

I shall conclude this chapter with a portion of the letter of Father Louis du Gad, Superior of the French Missions in China, relating to the expulsion of the Fathers from Macao.

On July 5, 1762, at three o'clock in the morning, twenty-four Jesuits were arrested by order of Pombal, *i.e.*, thirteen of the vice-province of China, who were living at St. Joseph's mission, eight of the province of Japan, who resided at the College of St. Paul, and three French missioners who lived in the same College. Of these, some were taken to the house of the Dominicans, and others to that of the Franciscans, but this separation did not last long. After a few days they were assembled together in the College, and lodged in the part where the provisions used to be stored. Four small rooms were assigned them, one of which served for chapel and refectory. All communication from without was forbidden; the doors and windows were secured with iron bars, and for still greater security, sentinels were on the watch night and day to prevent any one from speaking to the prisoners or sending them

anything. The sentinels had the most severe orders to tell them nothing that took place in the city. No time was lost in announcing by sound of trumpet the public sale of our effects which was preceded by the reading of seven or eight decrees, in some of which it was commanded that our names should be ignominiously torn up in presence of Christians and idolaters who assembled to witness the spectacle. The Archbishop of Cranganore and the Bishop of Cochin, both Jesuits, were declared rebels, because they refused to abandon the missions of Malabar. . . .

On November 5, we were put on board ship by moonlight. We were marched to the port between two files of soldiers, and each of us had an officer at his side to arrest us in case we made effort to escape. It is impossible to conceive what precautions the Governor of Macao took for our transport to Goa. Not content with placing soldiers at all the exits of the part of the vessel where we were confined, he ordered all openings that admitted light to be closed, with the exception of one, which was left to enable us to say our breviary. . . . It is not surprising, therefore, that a few days after our embarkation, although it was cold, we were so covered with vermin that all repose was impossible. We were, notwithstanding, kept one or two months in this state, until the captain, at our request, permitted six of us to go on deck to get fresh air for an hour or two in the morning, and the same number in the afternoon, but on the condition that if any one approached the ship we were immediately to return to our confinement. In this way four months passed, partly at sea, and partly at various ports.

The remainder of the story has been already related. The letter concludes as follows—

Finally, after twenty-seven months of severe captivity, after having traversed the east and the west, and been exhibited in the most busy ports of Asia, Africa, and America, everywhere bearing the opprobrium and contempt with which we were loaded, we arrived at the mouth of the Tagus, near Lisbon on October 16, 1764, and there cast anchor. . . . Towards midnight on the 18th, we were called on deck, each by name, and as we were nineteen in number, we were put into four little boats, and taken up the river for four leagues, after which we were put into carriages, and taken to the fortress of St. Julian, where we arrived whilst it was still night. There, though we all

looked like men who had come back from the dead, we were allowed but one hour of rest, after which we were buried in the dungeons.

We shall follow them into these caverns later. We have now to trace the career of the most prominent character which the Society in Portugal then possessed, whom God seemed long before to have singled out for a holocaust. This was Gabriel Malagrida.

CHAPTER XII.

Malagrida.

It has been seen that Father Gabriel Malagrida was condemned in the notorious sentence of January 12, as chief promoter of the conspiracy of September 3, and with nine other Fathers thrown into prison, and that the sentence must have been already printed not only before any trial of these Fathers could have taken place, but even before they were arrested. The reader has already been able to judge for himself as to the value of this celebrated sentence, and the impossibility of Malagrida having been guilty of the crime attributed to him, owing to his absence from Lisbon from a period anterior to the date at which the sentence itself lays the origin of the conspiracy. There is, however, no need of insisting further on this point, for the subsequent conduct of Carvalho amounts to nothing less than a retractation of the judicial sentence solemnly uttered against him. After the dreadful tragedy of January 13, those who considered the hatred of the Minister for the Society, and reflected on his unsparing vengeance, of which they had just had so terrible a proof, were surprised to see this vengeance stop short of a victim whom the law placed in his hands, in the same sentence as had already shed so much of the noblest blood of Portugal. For more than two years Malagrida was left in the prison of Juncheira. For some

time there was a show of deference to the wishes of the Holy Father, and of unwillingness to shed consecrated blood, but the consent of Clement XIII. had long since removed this difficulty. Still Malagrida remained, as if forgotten, in his prison. The real cause of this must be inferred from what really is the only interpretation which the events admit of. It cannot be doubted that the King, who esteemed Malagrida as a saint, and knew the reputation for holiness and even miracles which he bore, both in the Old and in the New World, would not allow the sentence to be executed upon him. There are points at which the weakest men will assert their own will, and it appears the influence of the Minister was not sufficient to induce Joseph I. to stain his hands with the blood of this holy man, for which, there can be little doubt, Carvalho thirsted as much as he did for that of the Tavoras or de Aveiro.

But an expedient suggested itself which set the Minister free from any interference on the part of the King. Nothing could exceed the veneration with which all decisions of the sacred tribunal of the Inquisition were received in Portugal: the King had no power to interfere with its sentences. It followed, then, that to procure the death of a victim through this court all that the Minister needed was to secure judges who would be docile to his will; and he might then count confidently on the execution of his designs. To this court, then, it was determined to transfer Malagrida, but it must first be disposed for the work it had to do, and as the judges were very few, this was not a difficult task. The office of Grand Inquisitor had hitherto been conferred by the Pope, but the all-powerful Minister cut short the difficulties that might have arisen from delay, in the present relations between the Courts of Rome and Portugal, and, under pretence of an imagined conspiracy, condemned the Grand Inquisitor, Don Joseph de Braganza, natural brother of the King, to confinement in a Carmelite monastery, and substituted his own brother, Paul de Carvalho, in his place. An eminent Dominican, Father Francis of St. Thomas, illustrious for his virtue as well as his learning, who also held office in the sacred tribunal, was sent in the capacity of Bishop

to Angola, and his place filled by Father Mansilha, an unworthy member of his Order, who had long since made himself the slave of Carvalho, and had been his procurator in the management of the wine company of the Upper Duro, his inspector of taverns and farmer of the taxes. Carvalho saw no sin in this religious enriching himself by the most sordid of traffic, but, to the scandal of every one, imposed him as perpetual Superior on the Order in Portugal, and now made him a judge of the sacred tribunal of the Inquisition. The only member of the sacred tribunal whom he did not change was Nunez Alvarez Pereira, who, according to the description given by a contemporary, was a man capable of the darkest and foulest deed.'[1] Of this transaction, Don Bahia of Seville writing to the Bishop of Bayonne, October 18, 1761, says: 'Every one knows that the Inquisitor General was seized, and the other members of the sacred tribunal were banished, because they would not follow the ideas of the Minister, who substituted for them other judges more docile and less scrupulous.'[2]

The sacred tribunal being thus prepared for the work it had to do, Malagrida was taken secretly from the Junqueira and lodged in the prison of the Holy Office. The pretext under which he was now subjected to a new trial was the alleged writing of two works during his confinement in the Junqueira. These works were the *Life of St. Anne* and the *History of Antichrist*, and for the supposed contents of these two works he was tried as an impostor, hypocrite, and obstinate heretic. In addition to this, this old man, the severity and holiness of whose life had been the admiration of all, was accused of certain impure acts said to have been committed during the few months in which he was confined alone in the prison of the Holy Office. As the proceedings of this tribunal were conducted with the utmost secrecy we have no witnesses to tell us what took place within its walls, and are

[1] 'Pecudem intemperantissimam et bene pinguem abdomini suo natam; (*Vit. V. P. E. Correæ, Animadv.* vi. p. 243). Both this writer and the author of the *Life of Pombal* (iv. p. 194) give a sad account of the immorality of this man.

[2] *Anecdotas,* vol. ii. p. 188.

left to its own official report and such reflections as the circumstances of the case suggest. The report which was given to the public consisted chiefly of a long examination of the prisoner on the various visions and doctrines contained in the work, and was entitled, *Trial instituted by the Holy Office of Lisbon against Father Malagrida of the Society of Jesus.* It was published September 20, 1761, and concludes with the declaration that Father Gabriel Malagrida is convicted of the crime of heresy in having affirmed and followed and defended propositions contrary to the dogmas which the Catholic Church proposes and teaches, and that he has been and is a heretic against our holy Catholic faith, and as such has incurred the sentence of greater excommunication, and all the penalties established by law against such; and as being a convicted heretic, an inventor of new heretical errors, an impostor, a hypocrite, as confessing, retracting, pertinacious, and professing the same errors, it is ordained that he be deposed and degraded from his orders, according to the disposition and form of the sacred canons, and consigned with gag and *Carocha* and with the *Cartello* of heresiarch, to the secular power, which is earnestly prayed to treat the criminal with kindness and mercy, and not to proceed to the penalty of death or the shedding of blood.' After this follows the sentence: 'That Gabriel Malagrida, who was a religious priest of the Society called of Jesus, having been proved to be a heretic against our holy Catholic faith and as such consigned to the secular justice, after a public and juridical degradation from his orders, according to the disposition of the law, as is ordained in this precise case, is condemned to be conducted through the public streets of this city with a rope about his neck, and preceded by a crier, to the square called do Rocio, and there to be strangled by the executioner, and after he is dead, to have his body burned and reduced to ashes, that no memory of him or his sepulchre may remain.'[3]

On the morning of the same day, September 20, he was con-

[3] *Vita* iii. p. 172.

ducted with ceremony to the Hall of Supplication to hear the final sentence of death. He heard it without emotion, protesting his innocence of the crimes attributed to him, at the same time acknowledging himself a sinner, and asking pardon first of God and then of all the bystanders to whom he might have given bad example. In order that nothing should be wanting to complete the ignominy of the Society, the occasion was taken advantage of for one of those terrible exhibitions known as an *Auto da Fè*, the culminating figure of which should be not only a member of the once esteemed Society of Jesus, but the very man who, of all its members within the wide dominions of Portugal, had borne the highest reputation for sanctity, the stories of whose zeal and austerities, and even miracles, had been on the lips of all. No pains were spared to make the spectacle as imposing as possible. Platforms for spectators were erected all round the square. Cavalry and infantry were massed in large bodies. The nobility, the members of the judicature, and officers of State, were compelled to attend, and as if a tumult were feared, eight rounds of ammunition were distributed to the troops. If Malagrida now thought of the days when kings and princes knelt for his blessing, and multitudes hailed him as a saint, he must at the same time have remembered another One Whose praise had been on the lips of all men, Who, nevertheless, closed His eyes in the extremity of ignominy. But the crowd did not here cry out 'Crucify him'—they stood in mute terror, knowing full well that to show a sign of sympathy for an enemy of Carvalho was to be condemned to a loathsome dungeon, or the pestilential shores of Africa. A Benedictine Father who was assigned as confessor to the condemned, walked by his side in the procession. Malagrida, according to custom, wore a mantle of ignominy, had his mouth gagged, and had a *Carocha*, or kind of high cap, on his head. With him were led fifty-two other persons condemned for various crimes by the sacred tribunal. Some of these were guilty of quietism, some of secret Judaism, some of bigamy, and one of having dared to say that there was no longer a Holy Office in Portugal, that the

commission which held that name was nothing more than a handful of slaves of Carvalho. Each one was destined to receive a punishment according to his crime, but the Jesuit alone was to die. Arrived at the place of execution, his sentence was again read; the gag was then taken from his mouth: he declared his innocence of the crimes laid to his charge, begged God to forgive all his other sins, pardoned his accusers and his judges from his heart, and gave himself up to the hands of his executioner. His last words were: 'Father, into Thy hands I commend my soul.' The vast crowd that had assembled to witness the ghastly spectacle, this solemn act of taking away the life, and as far as human blindness could see, effacing the memory of one who had so often denounced to that same multitude the evils of sin, stood in solemn silence; many were moved to tears at the modesty and charity of this venerable man, bearing on his shoulders the weight of seventy-two years, of which forty had been spent in excessive labours for the salvation of the subjects of Portugal; and many more groaned within their hearts at the bloody despotism which had sacrificed the short days that yet remained of such a life to what they felt to be nothing else than the savage vindictiveness of a man who had no master but his cruelty and his avarice. The body of Malagrida was reduced to ashes, and the dust scattered to the winds, but his memory will be in benediction as long as persecuted justice is in honour among men.

I have here given the facts of this terrible tragedy, and have made no attempt to conceal from my readers my conviction as to the entire innocence of Malagrida and the consequent injustice of his death. It is necessary now to explain the grounds on which this conviction is based. It must in the first place be observed, that Malagrida was tried and condemned solely for crimes said to have been committed during the two years and a half of his imprisonment. Of the seventy years that had preceded, during forty of which his name had been a household word in Portugal, there is not a word in the report of the trial. Secondly, of these crimes we have no

witnesses, no testimony whatever except what is furnished by the official report, which was withdrawn by order of Carvalho as soon as a few copies had been circulated. No one can help seeing then that the first question in the verification of the guilt or innocence of the accused is the weight of this document as a proof of guilt, and that the second is its genuineness. If either fall to the ground, we must take Malagrida to have been always what he was for seventy years, and what the last scene of his life went far to prove him still to be. But it is precisely in the showing of this report, even accepting it as genuine, that we have the most abundant proof of the entire innocence of Malagrida. That we could have no confidence in the truth of the report, or in any act of such a tribunal, will also be fully shown; but it is necessary first to take a short glance at the life of this victim of the vengeance of Carvalho.

To give a correct notion of the antecedents of Malagrida, would be to write what is commonly understood as the life of a saint. It would be a record of prodigious labours for the salvation of souls, of extraordinary bodily austerities, of a remarkable union with God in prayer, of unaltered reputation of sanctity, amongst all classes, from the royal family to the lowest of the people, of wonderful success in drawing multitudes to God, of celestial favours, and even of threats of vengeance from the enemy of mankind. For thirty-two years, with the exception of short journeys to Europe on the business of his mission, he laboured with untiring zeal among the savages of Maranhão and Brazil, and with such success that he gained over two entire provinces to civilization and the faith. Seeking only to draw souls to God, he penetrated hitherto unexplored forests, traversed barefoot the most inhospitable mountains, sleeping on the ground, living on wild fruits and herbs, often in danger from the pagans, the scars of whose arrows, and even of whose teeth, he bore until his death. He was everywhere received by the Christians as an apostle and venerated as one who had special communication with God. He was such a lover of poverty,

that he hardly knew the value of the current coin, and when starting on his journeys by sea, would go on board the first ship bound for the port to which he was going, with nothing but his breviary under his arm, knowing well that Providence would never be wanting to one who left all to draw souls to Him. In 1749 he returned to Europe to protest against the cruelties committed against the Indians. Such was the reputation he had acquired, that Joseph I., then Prince of Brazil, received him on his knees to ask his blessing. John V. made the Spiritual Exercises under him, spent long hours in conversation with him on the affairs of his soul and the work of the missions, and was thought happy to have given up his soul to God in his arms. And when Benedict XIV. heard of the king's death, he remarked that there were good hopes of his salvation as he had made the Spiritual Exercises under the direction of Malagrida. The Queen of John V. chose him for her director, and made such progress under his care that she has been spoken of as no unworthy copy of the saintly Elisabeth. But the Court was not the place of his predilection, and in 1751 he obtained permission to return to his beloved mission of Brazil. But the brother of Carvalho was now Governor of Para and Maranhão, and already had begun the opposition to the Society which was to end in the entire destruction of those missions. He found the story spread abroad that he had obtained from the King an order that all Portuguese were to free their slaves without compensation, and other rumours calculated to excite the avaricious merchants against him. These stories were false, for though the Fathers had always protested against the cruelty practised against the Indians, they never interfered with the rights which the law had given to individuals. In 1753, the Queen-mother wrote to him telling him that she felt herself near her end, and begging him to come to prepare her for death. He hesitated much whether he should comply with her request or not; but commending the matter to God, he felt an irresistible impulse to return to Europe. It is impossible not to see here the hand of God leading him to the

completion of the sacrifice he had made of himself, though in a way he little thought of.

The Queen and Princesses received him with every mark of reverence and cordiality; but the Court was no longer what it had been. The King received him with respect, but coldness; and Carvalho showed him clearly that reputation for sanctity was no longer a passport in the palace. During his stay in Lisbon he devoted himself with the most extraordinary zeal to the salvation of souls. Preaching, confessing, but above all the Spiritual Exercises, were his constant occupation, and the time that remained to him was given to prayer. His food was vegetables and bread, his repose was a rest of three hours on a board, or on the floor, and he completed the daily holocaust of himself by severe maceration of his flesh. In a mission he gave at St. Julian, whilst the Queen Marianne was preparing for death at Belem, there occurred one of those mysterious events which point to the terrible sacrifice God demanded of him. Scarcely had he entered the pulpit when a demoniac woman rose up in the midst of the immense audience, and directing her voice to the preacher, cried out, 'Do you still dare to appear here? But you shall pay for it!' And she continued to pour out the most terrible threats against Malagrida and the Jesuits. The preacher commanded her in the name of God to be silent, and on this she obeyed. Don Pedro, Prince of Brazil, spoke afterwards with the Father on this occurrence, and he acknowledged that it was not the first time he had had such threats from the evil spirit. The Prince then asked him if some evil consequences might not come from such menaces? 'To be sure there may,' replied the Father; 'for though the devil can do us no harm by his own power, I know that God may permit him to do us great evil. But as he can do no harm to the soul, it makes little matter.'[4]

We have spoken of the labours of Malagrida during the terrible days of the earthquake. For almost two entire days he took neither food or rest, labouring incessantly among the desolate inhabitants, consoling, exhorting, confessing, and rescuing

[4] MS. Life, ch. xxxi.

the wounded. Lisbon resounded with the praise of Malagrida. The King was so moved that he called back two Fathers he had exiled, and offered to rebuild the ruined houses of the Society; and the Patriarch wrote to the Provincial to thank him formally for the services of his subjects. We have seen his subsequent banishment to Setubal. This took place on November 1, 1756, when he was engaged in giving a retreat in a house he had taken for that purpose outside the walls. Carvalho had set himself against the Spiritual Exercises. The King had promised to build a house for the convenience of those who wished to make them; but Carvalho persuaded him that it might give occasion to seditious meetings and conspiracy, and the very name of conspiracy sufficed to deter him from anything. The immediate occasion of the banishment of Malagrida was a little book published with the approbation of the Inquisitor, in which he proved that great catastrophes like the earthquake were visitations from God in punishment of sin. Carvalho resented this doctrine as a reflection on his Government and the moral state of the city, ordered the book to be suppressed, declared that earthquakes came entirely from natural causes, and ordered the Nuncio to send the author into exile.[5] It is said that a more real but secret reason of his banishment was the fact that Malagrida had persuaded the King himself to make the Exercises, and the Minister knew well that if that came about, his own unlimited influence, which was such that the people believed it to be the effect of magic, must at once come to an end. The effect of the exile of Malagrida was no other than to move the field of his labours from Lisbon to Setubal. He laboured with such wonderful zeal and fruit that the two years of his banishment were years of great benediction to these people, and to thousands who flocked to hear him from all the country round.

[5] The title of this book was *Judicium de vera causa terræmotus quem passa est Ulysipo die 1 Novembris anni 1755.* Though it was published with the full authority of the Inquisitor, after Carvalho had reduced all the tribunals to obedience to himself, he had it submitted to the *mesa censoriâ*, which condemned it, and declared the author *infamis, furiosus, malitiosus, temerarius et hæreticus.*

When the Patriarch issued the decree suspending the Fathers from their functions, Malagrida redoubled his zeal against his own flesh, chastising it with excessive austerities. He gave himself up entirely to these exercises and the practice of prayer, in which he is said at this time to have spent fourteen hours in the day. It is not wonderful if miraculous interventions and celestial illuminations were attributed to a man bearing such a character as Malagrida. One or two of these must be here mentioned. They prepare us for something which will have to be mentioned later. When he was at St. Julian, a short time before the death of the Queen, who was, however, at that time quite well, he one day heard a knock at his door, and a voice, which he distinctly recognized as that of one of the Fathers in the house, telling him to go at once to the Queen, as she was dying. He went immediately to speak to the Father, but found him occupied in his room without any knowledge of the matter. But the Queen was really as had been described. It was his practice when in Lisbon to spend several hours in the confessional before saying Mass ; but on the morning of the earthquake, to the surprise of all and without assigning any cause, he said an early Mass, and went immediately to ask for something to eat. On the Brother remarking that that was not his usual practice, he replied that it was necessary, as he would not be able to eat that day and perhaps not the next. He also went to the room of Father Francis de Portogallo, who, on account of his infirmities, slept longer than the rest, and told him to rise at once and go down to the confessional. Extraordinary as was this notice, the Father did as he was told, and, by this means alone, escaped the ruin in which his room was involved by the earthquake. The great shock occurred at half-past eight in the morning, and found Malagrida ready to sally forth for his gigantic labours. A few days before, walking through the streets, he had said more than once to his companion, 'What legions of demons!' and passing through a square where there were many silversmiths at work, he said : 'Poor people! What useless labour! It will soon be all lost.'

There is no doubt he had a presentiment of something that was to befall the King, and wrote a letter to the Queen telling her of what he had experienced, in order that the King might be put on his guard. Not daring to trust his own lights, he sent this letter to another Father, asking him to forward it if he thought it right. The Father, believing it to be an imagination, returned the letter to him, and it was found among his papers when he was taken prisoner. Carvalho took occasion of it to accuse him of having written in all directions that the King would not live past September. It is enough to say that no such letter was ever produced, or any foundation for the charge shown, nor was it brought against him at his trial. I might sum up the character of Malagrida by saying that it was the opinion of all who had observed him during a long laborious life, in which he was a spectacle to men of every class, that he was a religious of profound humility, of extraordinary union with God, of excessive austerity, of angelical purity, and apostolic zeal, and as far as it is allowed to us to say it, that he had well merited the name by which he was usually known—that of "the saint."

Such was Malagrida when he was cast into the dungeon of the Junqueira in the seventieth year of his age, and I shall leave it to the reader to consider whether in the two years during which he was confined in those dark dungeons he could have become an obstinate heretic, an impostor, a monster of impurity, and an impenitent hypocrite. If it is ever true that no one does great evil without a proportionate motive, that no one becomes suddenly wicked, and that he who was once good is to be presumed always good, unless convincing proof be found to the contrary, then Malagrida must be presumed good to the end, unless his guilt can be proved beyond the possibility of doubt. We shall now see if this is so. And first, we shall consider what was to be expected from the tribunal which condemned him, and whether it was such as to give any confidence either in their report of the trial or the justice of the sentence. It will then be shown that the report as it stands contains only a proof of the innocence

of Malagrida and the guilt of his judges. We may form a fair presumption of the nature of an act by considering the character of the men who performed it, the motives they had for their action, and their previous conduct in similar circumstances. We have already sufficiently shown, both by his own acts and the testimony of witnesses not to be suspected, what was the character of Carvalho. It has been too clearly proved that there was no wickedness from which he would shrink to attain his end. We have seen that he had constituted the Tribunal of the Holy Office in such a manner as to make it a ready instrument in his hands. Of Paul de Carvalho, the new Grand Inquisitor, we may repeat that, in the judgment of so great an authority as Cardinal Pacca, he was more vicious even than his brother. Of the spirit which actuated two other members of this Holy Tribunal, Nunez Alvarez Pereira and Mansilha, I have already spoken. I may here add that on the day of the execution of Malagrida, Pereira gave a splendid banquet to solemnize the event, and a few days after died in the raving of despair, refusing the assistance of the priest who had been procured for him.[6] Mansilha enjoyed his honours till the fall of Carvalho, when he too was brought to trial for his crimes, and condemned to death, but the clemency of Mary commuted his punishment to perpetual exile.

It is no less evident that for such men motives were not wanting. Carvalho was filled with an implacable and almost incredible hatred of the Society. He had struck it ruthlessly wherever his hand could reach and where the blow was most sensible. The vast territories of Portugal could not contain his rage, he must even supplicate the Tartar Emperor of China to add his dominions to the battle-field against the Society. He had struck his heaviest blows on the days most dear to it. He had degraded the feasts of its patron saints from their rank in the Church of Portugal. Malagrida was the most prominent Jesuit in its dominions: no other had an equal reputation for holiness or apostolic zeal: a character for orthodoxy of faith and purity of morals was the inheritance most dear

[6] *Anecdotas,* vol. ii. p. 196; *Vita di Pombal,* vol. iv. p. 194.

to the Society. To burn Malagrida as an impure heresiarch was thus to strike it in the apple of its eye, and, as he thought, extinguish it in irreparable ignominy. Again it was Malagrida who was best able to open the King's eyes as to the despotism of his brother in Maranhão, and the falsehoods he had himself spread regarding the Society in America. No other religious had such influence over the King as Malagrida, no other, therefore, might prove so dangerous to the tyranny of the Minister, and finally, Malagrida had met the impiety of the Minister face to face in his little book on the chastisements of God through natural events. For the members of the tribunal one motive sufficed: it was that of terror of the consequences if they should refuse to comply with the will of the Minister. We are told that the late Inquisitor General, natural brother of the King, had been deposed solely because he resolutely refused to condemn Malagrida. Costa Freire was still in a dungeon for having refused to condemn the prisoners on September 3. They had before their minds a long list of honoured names disgraced for no other cause than opposition to the Minister. For such men as we have described, there can be no need of seeking further motives. It is terrible to impute such iniquity to so sacred a tribunal, but we must take history as we find it, and it is only one instance more of the degradation to which even sacred institutions are exposed when they become slaves of the secular power. We can now understand that Count de Saint Priest could say of Carvalho: 'He found in this formidable body, a ready and useful arm, a sort of committee of public safety, and spoke of it with enthusiasm.' He used to say that 'its functions were much safer when in the hands of a corporation chosen by the sovereign.'[7]

Let the reader now call to mind the solemn impostures of Carvalho which we have already had to notice in this book. He has seen the sentence of January 12, on the authority of which alone he shed the blood of so many victims, a sentence proved to be an imposture, and in the following reign judicially pronounced to be such. He has seen the history of

[7] *Chute des Jesuites*, p. 29.

the Republic of Paraguay, in which the wars of the Jesuits with the armies of Spain and Portugal are described in detail, sent by the authority of Carvalho to all the Courts of Europe, officially declared by the Spanish tribunals, and proved by variety of evidence, to be no more than a libellous romance; and yet those of the Society who denied its truth were styled by its author seditious blasphemers. He has seen the calumnies with which he obtained from Benedict XIV. the Decree of Reform, and the false accusations which he laid before Clement XIII. when he was determined to expel the Society from Portugal. I might add the imposture with which he declared to the same Pope the vacancy of the see of Bahia, and finally the solemn memorial sent to Rome on the occasion of the expulsion of the Nuncio Acciajuoli. After this, he will not think Carvalho incapable of one more crime. If yet it is thought too much to suppose the sacred tribunal of the Inquisition capable of lending its authority to such iniquity, we have only to remember what we have already said of the men who composed it, and the fears that hung over them, and to bear in mind that in Spain as well as in Portugal the sacred tribunal instituted for the preservation of the faith had long since been used by the secular powers chiefly as an arm for political purposes. It was this same tribunal which had delivered over to the secular arm the most learned and most celebrated religious in Portugal, Father Antonio Vieira, of the same Society of Jesus, on which occasion the sentence was solemnly reversed by Pope Clement X. in his Brief of August 17, 1675, to say nothing of the knots of ecclesiastics who at various periods of the Church have been found to condemn such men as an Athanasius or a John Chrysostom. With all these points before his eyes, and the character of Malagrida fresh in his remembrance, the reader can hardly fail to be convinced that no reliance can be placed on the justice of such a tribunal, or even on its own report of its secret acts.

There is yet another argument. We have seen that the trial and sentence of Malagrida are concerned chiefly with two

books which he is said to have written during his confinement in the Junqueira. Now, I ask, if these books were really written by Malagrida, and were such as were represented, how is it that no one was ever known to have seen them? Is it credible that he who took such pains to publish the *Errores impios*, so as to send a copy to every bishop in Portugal, who sent the sentence of January 12 to every Court in Europe, and scattered the *Brief Relation* over all the world, taking measures even to have it translated into Chinese, who a few years after published the *Chronological Deductions*, declared by Theiner to be perhaps the most infamous of libels ever published against the Society, would have lost such an opportunity of destroying its reputation, if he had really had it in his hand? Is it credible that the same man would have taken such care to conceal the books which had given just cause to the execution of the most celebrated Jesuit in the kingdom that not a single copy in print or manuscript is known to have been ever seen? There is but one other alternative, it is that the books were so manifestly the work of an insane man, or of so innocent a nature that they rendered the injustice of the condemnation evident. But there is more. No sooner was the report of the trial spread about, no sooner had opinions begun to be expressed freely as to the injustice committed against Malagrida, than every effort was made to withdraw the report from circulation. Was this a mark of justice, or an effort to conceal the ignominy of an exposed crime? Again, if the *corpus delicti* was in his hands, what was the need of inviting the apostate friar and professional calumniator, Platel, to write a history of Malagrida, in which his whole life is described as a tissue of impostures and crimes, in defiance of the most notorious truth? I have said nothing of the improbability of a man condemned for high treason and confined to a dark dungeon being able to write these histories. The Marquis da Lorna during a period of nearly twenty years contrived to write a very little book, we shall see with what shifts. Is it likely that the man declared to be the head of the conspiracy

would have had more indulgence shown him? I may here mention that on April 5, 1767, the Bishop of Cochin, writing to the Archbishop of Cranganor, expresses his conviction that the sentence of the Inquisition was a defamatory libel, and that the pretended criminal was a virtuous and judicious person, and in no way the author of the two books attributed to him.[8] The author of the notes on the Life of Father Correa, which I have often quoted, who was not a Jesuit, thinks that these two lives were written by Platel (*alias* Norbert), who is known to have been at this time engaged in writing against the Society in the pay of Carvalho. There may be truth in this suggestion, but it seems that the calumniator so far overstepped the limits of probability, that even Carvalho had not audacity to publish them. I shall pursue this point no further, but shall take the published report as it stands, accepting it for the sake of argument to be genuine, and shall undertake to satisfy my reader that it proves two things only, the bad faith of the tribunal and the innocence of Malagrida.

The crimes laid to the charge of Malagrida, for which he was condemned, were imposture, endeavour to deceive by pretended visions, and obstinate heresy. It is evident that visions and revelations were no crimes, and that the thing to be proved was the imposture and intent to deceive, but of this there is nowhere the approach to a proof. It is throughout taken for granted. 'Full of ambition and pride,' it is said, 'and considering himself superior to all in virtue, he began to *pretend* miracles, revelations, visions, &c., . . . and having by means of *hypocrisy*, and the most *refined malice*, caused himself to be believed to be a saint and true prophet . . . by persons who did not know what was the foundation of his *pretended* sanctity, he became a monster of all kind of iniquity,' and this is the preamble, and even if true would be an injustice to the accused, because it regards his previous life, whereas he was tried only on the books written in prison. Throughout the trial it is taken for granted that all is imposture. 'The accused was not willing to profit by the admonition charitably

[8] *Anecdotas*, vol. ii. p. 193.

made him to abandon imposture and confess his faults . . . to lay aside hypocrisy and imposture,' . . . and so throughout the trial. But this is the system of Carvalho over again. In his famous sentence, of which we have said so much, every paragraph opens with the words *it is proved*, whereas nothing was proved except that the whole conspiracy was a fiction; here the imposture and hypocrisy are assumed, whereas they were just what were to be proved. Again, the visions and revelations referred to in the trial are absurdities beyond parallel, but they do not contradict revealed articles of faith, or if they appeared to touch Catholic faith, the accused explained them in a sense which was orthodox, or which at least the judges seemed to admit. In one case only did they appear to be dissatisfied with his answer. He had said that the Blessed Virgin Mary had given him absolution, and would not acknowledge that this was a blasphemy, because he argued that it was in the power of God, as a special dispensation, to give her the power to do so. But it was not for error or even heresy that he was condemned, but for *obstinacy* in his heresy; but here, by the showing of the report, we have proof that he was to the end what he had been all his life, an humble child of the Church. He declared that if his visions were illusions he detested them, that he acknowledged himself a miserable sinner, and had too much reason to fear that diabolical illusions were mixed up with his visions; finally, that he retracted them, submitting himself to everything that was determined by the Holy Scriptures, the decrees of the Apostolic See, and all declarations of the Holy Office, confessing that through ignorance he had believed to be true what was only illusion of the devil. What more was wanted to prove him humble and docile to the Church? They wanted him to confess himself an impostor, but that would have been to commit the crime of which he was accused. In fact, according to the report of the trial, he explains his errors on the principles of faith, and yet is declared to be a formal heretic. He retracts them, and is nevertheless condemned as contumacious. He is accused only of what took place in the solitude of his prison,

and yet he is condemned as a seducer. He confesses that he may have been deceived, and submits entirely to the Church, and yet he is condemned as impenitent.

I have said the trial proves him innocent. It does more, it proves him incapable of sin—it proves him insane. Many of the revelations taken from the books in question could have been written seriously only by a madman. I shall give two or three specimens, and the reader will judge for himself. What, for example, are we to think of the revelation that St. Anne when yet in the womb of her mother cried, and made the cherubim and seraphim cry with compassion, and that they came to assist her; that when yet in the womb she made the three vows of religion, and that none of the Divine Persons should be offended, she made the vow of poverty to the Father, obedience to the Son, and chastity to the Holy Ghost; that the Divine Persons had various controversies as to the treatment of St. Anne, and finally determined that she should be placed above all the angels and other saints; that she founded in Jerusalem a school for the education of fifty-three girls; that one of these bought fish and sold it again to support the establishment; that the Blessed Virgin Mary said once to St. Anne, when yet in her womb, 'be consoled, my dearest mother, behold you shall *conceive* and bear a child, who shall be called Mary,' and that these words were celebrated by a festivity of eight days in Paradise, and finally, 'that Antichrist is to marry Proserpine, one of the infernal furies'?

It is hard to read such propositions without coming to the conclusion, that if they are not genuine, whoever invented them intended not to prove him guilty, but insane. Could a sane man have tried to make any one believe that Antichrist was to marry a being of fable who all knew never existed? or how could he have intended to deceive by a vision in which he was told that the King was dead, and that the Princess of Brazil had given birth to a girl, when every one in Portugal knew at the time that both were false? So evident does this appear, that it amounts to a real argument (and it is the only one) for the genuineness of at least a portion of the trial.

Mixed up with these revelations are great praises of his own sanctity, accounts of miracles and visions of his past life, all of which are so unlike what had been his practice all his life, and, if said by a sane man, so likely to produce the opposite effect, that, supposing the account to be faithful, they can lead us to no conclusion but that Malagrida had lost his senses. At the same time many of the answers attributed to him give quite a different impression. Several of the propositions regarding questions of faith are undoubtedly most censurable; but the manner in which he explained them and reconciled them with the teaching of the Church, shows how true he was to its teaching, and that he had only accepted the propositions in question because he believed them to have been revealed to him, and according to the sense of the Church. Many of the answers are clever, and satisfied, or at least silenced his judges. Finally, the accusation of impurity, to say nothing of his former life, is full of improbabilities, for it supposes him to have been watched in a dark cell, whereas we know that he was confined alone, except for some time when Father Homem was with him; but even in the report this charge breaks down, and his answer is fully sufficient to explain what might, if true, have given an occasion to suspicion, and it is omitted in the sentence.

The reader will now ask, what is my judgment as to the whole of this question. Some light is thrown upon it by one of his fellow-prisoners in the Junqueira, the Marquis da Lorna, who writes of what happened to several of the prisoners. Though he cannot be taken exactly as a witness, he probably is not far from the truth. It is from him we learn that Malagrida was at first alone, and that afterwards Father Homem was placed with him. This Father was taken with him to the Inquisition, but was acquitted. He tells us that Father Malagrida suffered great grief for the persecution of the Society, and offered himself to God, to suffer any torments to obtain its restoration. For this purpose he performed formidable austerities: one of these was to remain many hours in prayer in a strained position, with his head on

the ground, at a time when the cold and damp were insupportable. He tells us that through these causes his head became weakened; that he used to hear voices and see visions; that the other Fathers took various views as to the reality of these visitations; that he himself could not decide, but humbly acknowledged that he was mad, when in conversation with any one who was of that opinion; and that he was most prompt to obey in anything he was commanded. On one occasion some one entering his cell heard him exclaim: 'Who calls me? who is speaking to me? My confessor tells me to make no account of these things.' The Marquis tells us that Malagrida really did write the *Life of St. Anne* and the *History of Antichrist*, and that the sheets were taken away by the authorities and copied. Of course this may be only what was afterwards said to justify the trial, as he does not say that he saw them, or a few notes may have been written which were magnified into volumes, and there always remains the difficulty, that no one is known ever to have seen them, and the controversy about his visions, and his own humble disposition, to which the Marquis witnesses, make it less likely that he would have written anything of consequence. Still I believe that we have here the key to the mystery. Written or not written, his visions were taken advantage of, and in them was found an opportunity of bringing to trial this man, whose life rendered that of Carvalho miserable. Then came the change of Inquisitors, and upon these illusions, brought on by his excessive austerities, was based a trial for heresy, the report of which whether true or false was intended to justify his murder. It is impossible to believe that if these books had existed as is pretended in the report, they would not have been published to the world for the ignominy of the Society. Hence the report as it stands must be looked on as a fiction,[8] but in whatever way we look at it, Malagrida was an innocent man, and his execution will always stand forth amongst the most awful crimes ever committed by a civilized nation. The

[8] The author of the *Life of Pombal* says it was composed by Paul de Carvalho and Father Mansilha, and speaks of it as a mass of impostures and a tissue of contradictions which was read with contempt by all who saw it.

opinion of the world concerning this tragedy is expressed in the well-known words of Voltaire: 'The excess of the ridiculous is joined to the excess of horror. Malagrida was condemned only as a prophet: he was not burned for the crime of parricide but of madness.'[9]

At the time of the execution of Malagrida there was no Jesuit still breathing the upper air of Portugal, but there was still a mass of filth and misery rotting in the pestilential dungeons into which men, who never knew the crimes attributed to them, had been cast in the name of justice. In the next chapter we shall take a glimpse into these sepulchres of the living.

CHAPTER XIII.

Prisons.

The prisons in which the members of the Society were confined were six in number: those of Almeida, Azeitano, St. George, Belem, Junqueira, and St. Julian. With the exception of those of Azeitano and St. George, they were all dark underground dungeons, in which the prisoners suffered every misery arising from want of light and air, from hunger and nakedness, damp and filth, privation of all spiritual help, and a system of barbarous treatment which with few exceptions pervaded the officials of the prisons from the officer in command to the lowest servant in the gaol. We find each one adding his share to the grinding oppression which crushed them, the better to please the despot, and each one labouring to wring from the miserable pittance assigned to the sufferers something wherewith to enrich himself. It is impossible not to ask oneself, again and again, what must have been the guilt of men who deserved such treatment, or of the monster who condemned innocent men to such dungeons, and followed on the pursuit of his own ends with as much indifference as if they had been

[9] *Age de Louis XV.* ch. 38, vol. 21, p. 373, Paris, 1831.

as insensible to agony as they were buried to human eye. In addition to all that has been said, it is to be remembered, as it helps us much to form a correct estimate of the case, that it was not Jesuits alone who were confined in these prisons. They contained not only many of the first nobles of the land, but eminent ecclesiastics, holy religious of various orders, whose only crime was to have become objects of Carvalho's suspicion lest they might unfold to the King the enormities committed in his name. The number of innocent men cast by Carvalho into dungeons was estimated at nine thousand.[1] The prisons of Portugal did not suffice, many were therefore sent to the fortresses of Africa or the Islands of the Atlantic, where they ended their days unknown and unheeded, but bearing to the end the full weight of the Minister's resentment and his barbarous indifference to all feeling. Of this great number, eight hundred alone survived when the day of retribution came. Of these, fifty-eight were Jesuits of every nation, and gathered from every quarter of the globe, not one of whom had ever been convicted of any crime. As the constancy and patience of these men under so long a trial would alone be a refutation of the charge of decadence brought against the Society, it is necessary, to complete my purpose, to enter into a little detail respecting the treatment they received in the various prisons.

The fortress of Almeida was at Oporto. Here were confined eighteen Fathers from Maranhão, and two of the Province of Portugal. The cells were here so dark, that in many of them it was only on the brightest days that a little light entered through a small window. The cold damp stones with which they were built and paved, caused their legs to swell to such an extent that they were obliged to give them straw on which to put their feet. In these cells they were invaded by armies of mice, which swarmed about them, destroying their rest, eating their bed-clothes, and even disputing with them the food on their plates. The officer in charge was an inhuman character, who added contempt to rigour. He used to tell those who came to the castle that he had charge of a number of wild

[1] *Anecdotas*, vol. ii. p. 168.

beasts from America, and not only enlarged on their supposed crimes, but reproached them as malefactors to their faces. In this prison the gaolers were kind and did what they could to alleviate their sufferings, but the strictest precautions were taken not to allow communication with any one, so that when one of their members died the rest knew nothing of it till they were released from confinement. At first the food was abundant, but in a short while, the allowance of one tostão[2] a day was assigned for each to cover all expenses, and from that time it was very scanty and wretched in quality, and the plates were left in the cell so short a time and taken away in such hurry that they had scarcely time to eat even what was given them. The damp soon caused their clothes to rot away, so that they scarcely sufficed for absolute decency, and some were reduced to the expedient of trying to spin their rags into yarn with which to patch what had once been a habit. The absence of washing and want of linen soon brought the additional torment of swarms of loathsome vermin which covered their persons and beset everything. After two years and a half of this misery, they managed to get a petition conveyed to the Court, and the consequence was that orders were sent to clothe the prisoners properly, and provide them with everything they needed. On this occasion a spoon and a fork were given to each, but this was afterwards thought to be too much, and the fork was taken away. The surgeon of the prison was well disposed to the prisoners, but every difficulty was thrown in his way; he was only allowed to see the sick during the few minutes allotted to meals, and none but the most common medicines were allowed, so that however great their necessities, they were left almost without help. But what was the greatest trial to them, though at the beginning they were allowed to receive the sacraments every week, this was afterwards discontinued, and they were left several months without them.

So life dragged on till the beginning of 1762. In the meantime several additional Fathers who had been confined in the College of Oporto, were brought to the prison so that

[2] About sixpence.

their numbers were considerably swelled. At this period, war having broken out between Portugal and Spain, in order to have the prisoners in a safer place, it was determined to remove them to the Junqueira. They performed the journey in three parties, notice being given to the first only two hours before starting, but the motive and destination were kept strictly secret, not only from them but from the officer in charge, who received instructions in a sealed letter each day for the next day's journey only. So exhausted were the prisoners with what they had already suffered, that several of them fainted, again and again, from weakness, and it was necessary to tie them on horseback and to support them on each side to keep them from falling. Some had to be carried on litters from utter incapability to sit on horseback, and these were men who but lately were robust missioners spending themselves for the salvation of souls in the forests of America. Two years of hard treatment had consumed the strength of men whom no fatigue could overcome, and who would have yet laboured for many years in the cause of God. This journey occupied fifteen days. It was one of the extremest suffering, and we may well believe that the prospect of death to which they believed they were being conducted, appeared to them in the light of a long looked for liberation. They little knew they were only at the beginning of an imprisonment, which was to be for ever famous for its horrors. On their arrival at the Junqueira, it was found that the fortress was full, they were in consequence conducted to St. Julian to be hid away in its damp recesses for fifteen years to come, unless before that time they should cease to cumber the earth.

The following letter written from the fortress of St. Julian by Father Robert Kaulen, to the Provincial of the Lower Rhine, gives a short account of this transfer and will be read with interest. It is dated December 12, 1766.

Rev. Father,—I have now been in prison eight years, and have not had the opportunity of writing to you. I now avail myself secretly of one which is offered me in the liberation of a French Brother obtained by the piety of his Queen. To go back to the

beginning of our troubles, you must know that twenty of us were taken prisoners in 1759, and conducted by an armed force to the fortress of Almeida on the frontiers of Portugal. Here we were thrown separately into horrible dungeons which were so full of mice that they even got under our clothes without our being able to free ourselves from them owing to the darkness of the place. During the first four months we were fed pretty well, but after this our food was so limited that we thought they meant to let us die of hunger. Our breviaries and the rosaries which we wore were taken away from us with violence; they even tried to take from us our crucifixes, but we made such representations and resisted so firmly that they desisted from this violence, and at the end of about a month they gave us back our breviaries.

The war between Portugal and Spain was the occasion of our being taken from these horrible dungeons, where for the period of three years we had suffered hunger and every inconvenience and oppression that can be imagined. Care was taken to keep away from us every person whose presence could have alleviated our sufferings, even so far as to prevent us from assisting one another in sickness or even in death, as was experienced by one of our numbers who ended his career there. The remaining nineteen were taken from Almeida for fear we might take advantage of the siege with which the place was threatened, to make our escape. Orders were given to transfer us to Lisbon. We travelled across almost the whole country escorted by a large body of cavalry. After having suffered great fatigues and abundance of humiliations, we reached the capital so worn out that two Germans besides myself fainted from exhaustion. We passed the first night in the public prison with common criminals, and the next morning were taken out to be conducted to the Tower of St. Julian, which stands at the mouth of the Tagus.

Azeitano was a little country place not far from Lisbon, where the Duke de Aveiro had a palace. A large room in this building was used as a prison for the Jesuits. Thither they were in many instances taken as to a preliminary station when the Colleges were broken up, or if their final destination was not already determined on. The dimensions of this room are not given, but we are told that at one time there were above a hundred Jesuits in it, and that during the first part of their detention they had hardly standing room, though there

was no article of furniture of any sort. The windows were all walled up except one small one. The floor was their table, their chair, and their bed; and it is no exaggeration, however revolting, to say that here they were literally penned like cattle with no more attention, even to the most necessary cleanliness, and probably far less to their health, than if they had been so many beasts. It is not necessary to picture to the mind the suffering that must have been caused to men of high education, of refinement of character, and often of distinguished birth, by this revolting cruelty. It was not however allowed to last long, for the Minister Novaes, who introduced a more humane system, had already left Evora to take command of this prison, when the attempts were begun in that College to withdraw the younger men from the Society. This governor, on his arrival, obtained a greater space for the prisoners, and procured them beds and other necessary articles of furniture. But he was not superior to that miserable avarice which sought to advance his own fortune at the cost of the life-blood of the prisoners committed to his charge. The consequence was that their food was reduced to the barest necessity, and their clothing ceased even to satisfy the demands of decency. Here again might be seen men who had earned the esteem of all that was learned and good in Portugal, spinning the wool of their mattresses, and the fibre of their rags, that the shame of nakedness and the pangs of cold might not be added to the gnawings of hunger. It was thought that this treatment was intended to drive to desperation the non-professed, of whom there were a large number in this prison; but they had already been tried in the furnace, and saw in it only the hand of God Who wished to give them a share in the portion He had allotted to His Son.

An idea of the strictness of the guard kept over the prisoners may be had from the following fact. Some time, probably in the year 1766, Father Emanuel de Figueiredo, who was the Superior of the imprisoned Fathers, managed to send a letter to the Rector of Badajoz by a boy connected with the prison who was going to that neighbourhood, and inclosed in it

another to the Father General, in which he gave an account of the afflicted state of the Fathers, recommended them warmly to the prayers of the Society, and begged that Father Julio Pereira of the Vice-Province of Maranhão, who had been Rector of the College of Para, might be appointed Superior in his place. The letters were conveyed faithfully, Father General wrote an answer, in which he consoled his suffering children, accepted Father Emanuel's resignation of office, and wrote a second letter to Father Pereira naming him Superior. These letters were sent to the Rector of the College of Badajoz who was waiting for an opportunity to forward them, when the Society being suddenly suppressed in Spain, and everything seized exactly in the state in which it had been left without suspicion of danger, these two letters were found by the Spanish authorities and communicated to Carvalho. It is not a great condemnation of the Society if a letter from a father to an afflicted son, providing for religious subordination amid extremest hardships, was the most criminal thing discovered in this great *coup d'état* executed in a single night throughout the whole Spanish dominions, but we shall have to speak of this later. The uproar created by this discovery can hardly be described. On May 7, 1767, the prison was entered suddenly by four State ministers, four criminal judges, two notaries, eighteen bailiffs, with officers and soldiers. The Fathers were ordered not to stir, everything was then examined, beds, mattresses, boxes, straw, their persons, all were searched. No one knew what treasure it was expected to find; but all was in vain. Several of the gaolers were imprisoned, some of the servants put into irons, the two Fathers, de Figueiredo and Pereira, removed to a closer confinement, in which they ended their days, and three lay-brothers, for no reason that can be assigned except that of disappointed anger, that a Father had found means of pouring forth his grief into the bosom of his General, were put on board ship, placed in separate cells with sentinels at their doors, landed at Angola, and sent into a fortress in the interior without any provision being made for their

maintenance, and there allowed to perish with hunger.[3] A few months after, two Fathers, John Pereira and Emmanuel Gonzaga, both of Maranhão, were taken from Azeitano and were never again heard of. It is supposed that they died in some fort on the African coast, and that they are to be joined to that mighty army whose names are written only in the Book of Life. In this prison thirty-four members of the Society died, and an equal number were taken elsewhere, and some, as we shall see, liberated, so that towards the end there were not above forty in confinement here.

The prison of St. George was a large room in the castle of that name in Lisbon. Here were confined the lay-brothers attached to the Procurators of the foreign missions, whose seizure has already been related. Hard as was their life, it was light in comparison with that of their brethren confined in the other fortresses, and this owing to the kindness of the three governors who presided successively over the fort. These were, Emmanuel Joseph de Gama, Emmanuel Mouran, and John Henriquez do Maia, all men of Christian sentiments, who did their best to diminish the hardships of the confinement. At first a tostão a day had been allowed for their support, but De Gama, finding that insufficient, succeeded in obtaining two tostãos a day for those in health, and three for the sick. The life these good brothers led was as exactly as possible what they had been accustomed to. As long as the professed house of Lisbon existed, as they were within hearing of the community bell, they regulated everything by its sound, rising in the morning, making their meditations and examinations of conscience, and taking their meals simultaneously with the Fathers, and when this ceased they followed the same order as well as they could. Their guards related with astonishment that these men did not find the sufferings of their prison sufficient for them, but supplemented them by long and severe disciplines, the noise of which resounded through the building. Two died in this prison, one of a long and painful disease, which he bore to the last with exemplary patience.

[3] *Compendio Istorico*, p. 325.

About four miles from Lisbon, in the direction of the ocean, was a little place called Belem, originally Bethlehem, from a famous abbey founded by the King Don Manuel for the religious of St. Jerome, and dedicated to the Nativity. Here also were public prisons, in which the prisoners were exposed to view behind iron bars like wild beasts. Here were confined for a time Father da Costa, late confessor to the Infant Don Pedro, afterwards King of Portugal, and Father Joseph Perdigão, whose name is mentioned in the pretended confession of the Duke de Aveiro as guilty of the attack on the King. These two were afterwards transferred to the Junqueira, where Da Costa ended his days. There remained a third, a Father Unger, a Bohemian, who in defiance of all law, though in no sense a subject of Portugal, had been seized by a party of Portuguese on one of the Spanish reductions of Paraguay, carried to Portugal, and thrown into prison. It was the practice in Portugal to assign no allowance to those confined in the public prisons who were not subjects of the State; and it was a sight that would have moved the most hardened to pity to see this poor religious, who had never heard a crime imputed to him, begging charity of the passers by from behind the bars of his cage. Truly the dregs of the cup were bitter, and if there had not been within these men a lofty supernatural spirit that made them superior to all hardship, we should have seen them lashed to madness at the iniquitous oppression, or crushed into the melancholy of a sullen despair—and this was the degenerate state into which these religious had fallen! This Father was released at the intercession of the Emperor of Austria in the year 1766, and returned to his country, where he again became an active missioner.

The fortress of Junqueira was situated on the banks of the Tagus between Lisbon and Belem, in a suburb of that name. To meet the exigencies of his own designs, Carvalho had here constructed a number of prisons, and here several of the most illustrious prisoners were confined. Here was Don Michael of the Annunciation, Bishop of Coimbra; here also were the Marquis da Lorna, the Marchioness de Gouvea, the Counts

Obidos and Ribeira, and several members of the Tavora family. Besides these, there were here two Canons Regular of St. Augustine, F. D. Stephano and Azevedo, both conspicuous for their birth and learning; also two Capuchin Fathers, Fra Illuminato and Clemente, arrested in 1756 for reasons which never could be devised, except that Martino della Rocca de Oldembourg, whose father had dared to complain to the King of the tyranny of his Minister, after his house had been destroyed by the earthquake had taken up his quarters in a shed in the garden of these Fathers, and in this the keen-sighted Minister saw conspiracy against his own power. These two Fathers were released with the other survivors on the accession of Mary, and Fra Illuminato died with all the reputation of sanctity and miracles. In this prison also was the eminent Antonio da Costa Freire, Fiscal Advocate of the Crown, whose only crime was his fearless declaration of the innocence of the victims of the sentence of January 12, and Andrada Encerrabodes, removed from the office of Portuguese Minister in Rome to make room for Carvalho's cousin Almada, for no other reason than that his distinguished character made it useless to expect him to join in the unjust intrigues of his master. Of the Jesuit Fathers, we find here Moreira, confessor of the King and Queen, to whose intercession Carvalho himself owed so much;[4] Oliveira, confessor of the Princess of Brazil, afterwards Queen Mary; Hyacinth da Costa, originally in the prison of Belem; Francis Eduardo, P. Homem, de Mattos, and Malagrida. Moreira and de Mattos both died in this prison, protesting before God not only their innocence of any attempt against his Majesty, but their entire ignorance of any such design.

The most interesting account that we have of this prison is from the pen of the Marquis da Lorna,[5] written, it is said, with colouring washed out of the chair of his cell with vinegar given him at his meals. The following details are from him.

[4] It is just to say, that Moreira always denied having had anything to say to the appointment of Carvalho (*Anecdotas*, vol. i. p. 7).

[5] This little volume was first published in 1857. The original manuscript s still preserved in the library of the Marquis of Fronteira.

There were nineteen prisons in this fort. They were about seven paces square, and there were generally two prisoners in each. They were so dark that almost all were obliged to keep a light constantly burning, without which some of them were almost absolutely dark. When they were first confined the walls were so new that they could make deep holes in the plaster with their fingers. The consequence was great dampness and insufferable cold. The Governor, he tells us, was a man of great hardness of heart, and was such as one might have been expected to be who was chosen by Carvalho to be the gaoler of those whom he destined to torments or secret death. And he adds that his fidelity in this respect is shown by the number of years he held his post. The rudeness of the guards was extreme, but not greater than was to be expected owing to the example their superiors gave them, from whom they never heard anything but insulting language regarding the prisoners. They found out that the more brutal their conduct the more acceptable they were in the eyes of the Governor, and though these prisons contained the best blood in Portugal, such expressions as "Como está cá esta canalha," uttered in their presence, were of daily occurrence. It would be impossible, he says, to describe how much indignity of this kind we had to suffer, and how much we needed the assistance of heaven to bear it in patience. Experience showed that all complaints made to the Governor only increased their opposition and rudeness; but after all, things might have been much worse at the hands of one who had been schooled by Carvalho, who had half buried them alive and left them thus deprived of all resources. The sacraments were usually allowed only once a year, and when the doctor said they were necessary. If they asked for a confessor at other times, the officer answered that once a year was sufficient, though after some time he would yield; but the greatest impatience was shown if the confessor remained any length of time in the cells, and every means were used to hurry him out. On one occasion the shock of an earthquake was felt. All the prisoners asked for a confessor. About three weeks after he was allowed to come. The consequence was that several died without the sacraments. During the

sixteen years that had elapsed when this account was written, they had never been allowed to hear Mass, and though they represented that even in the Bastille this was permitted, it was without effect. The Fathers, he tells us, were allowed to say Mass in the chapel of the fortress on the great feasts: one only of the prisoners, Andrada Encerrabodes, for some special favour was taken secretly to hear it.

In dress, he tells us, they suffered extreme misery. When Malagrida was conveyed from this prison to that of the Inquisition, his clothes were not sufficient for decency, and one of the guards had to lend him something with which to cover himself. In food they suffered as in the other prisons from the injustice of those in whose hands they were placed, and one of the guards acknowledged to them that as their fare grew worse, the table of the Governor grew more abundant.[6]

The Castle of St. Julian is one of three fortresses built to defend the entrance of the Tagus. It stands on the right bank of the river, about four miles below Lisbon, and the walls are washed by the tide. In the dungeons of this fortress there were at one time as many as a hundred and twenty-five Jesuits, gathered from every part of the world, speaking every European language, men distinguished by their high character, their learning, their labours, and in many instances by their birth, not one of whom was conscious of any crime, or had ever been submitted to examination by any judge. To give an account of their sufferings would be to describe all the evils of a long confinement, in many cases reaching to nineteen years, in dungeons placed beneath the level of the sea, with all the hardships of damp, bad ventilation, filth and vermin, nakedness and hunger, the privation of every social and religious joy, and a constant system of brutality and insult, as if they had been the worst of malefactors. To enter into all these details would carry me far beyond my purpose. I can only give a few of the principal features, and shall allow one or two of the prisoners to speak for themselves.

[6] *As prisões da Junqueira durante o ministerio do Marquez de Pombal.* Escriptas alli mesmo pelo Marquez da Lorna uma das suas victimas. Lisboa, 1857.

The position of these prisons below high water mark caused a dampness that destroyed everything. The sea-water streamed in through the walls, and often, on account of neglect of the authorities, water entered from above, till it sometimes rose to the level of their beds. The foulness of the cells caused them to be tormented by all sorts of filthy insects. The stench arising from the want of ventilation, the damp, and the foulness of their lamp, was a constant suffering, while the quantity of oil allowed was so small that they were in almost complete darkness.

The saddest feature in the history of these prisons is the fact that during the whole period, though in varying degrees, the officials of the prisons, from the highest to the lowest, fattened on the privations of these poor Fathers, and found a means of putting by for themselves a portion of the little that was allowed them, and of supplying what was necessary for life of such quality as to leave an ample margin for themselves. Every article of food was provided in smaller quantities and of worse quality than the regulation demanded. The wine was of bad quality, and the little that was provided was often diminished by half by the man who carried it to the cell. The water was full of insects, for want of the least trouble to procure it clean; the oil so scanty that they had to diminish the wick of their lamp till it consisted of but one or two threads, to preserve some light. Their clothes were reduced to the merest rags, and it was with the greatest difficulty, and only after long intervals, they could obtain anything new. The consequence was, their cassocks soon became mere remnants; some had no nether garments, others had half a pair; many had no shoes, and several had no linen. In one case, when one had died, nothing of any sort could be found in which to wrap the body. Everything exhibited squalor, misery, and suffering. During the first seven years they were in the hands of a man pledged to carry out every wish of the Minister, and who at the same time was a prey to that miserable avarice that could seek its own interests in the sufferings of its victims. The consequence was that the prisoners were kept strictly to

their cells, and even deprived of all use of the sacraments except at the hour of death; and such was the cupidity of this man that, knowing well the wants of the other prisoners, he made himself the heir of those who died, and was not ashamed of selling, for his own benefit, the miserable articles of clothing which they left behind them.

About the year 1767 he too was called to his account, and was succeeded by one who for a time changed the face of things. His first act was to transfer those who inhabited the worst cells to better ones, left vacant by those who had been sent to Civita Vecchia. He enlarged the windows so as to admit more light into the cells, made an opening in the door so as to admit a little air, allowed the door to remain open for an hour at the time of meals, came himself to see if they were properly supplied, and gave them money when he knew that they had been stinted, that they might provide for themselves; but what earned their eternal gratitude was the facility he gave them of receiving the sacraments, and this at the great risk of his own ruin. He allowed them to save up the little sums he sometimes gave them, which were literally taken from the support of their bodies, to buy what was necessary for an altar, and so allowed them to celebrate Mass. And on the eve of feasts he would allow the doors of the cells to remain open all night that they might confess to one another, and in the morning receive the Bread of Life, for which they were too glad to make a sacrifice of their corporal food. He allowed the Fathers to assist one another in sickness, and even provided medicines for the use of one who was an excellent doctor.

For two years this man earned the benedictions of these poor captives, in every point that was within his power. But it is sad to think how great is the power of avarice, since even this otherwise good man became a victim to it. He had noticed that all those who had the office of providing for the prisoners became quickly rich, and could not resist the temptation of trying to raise his own fortunes at their expense. From this time everything that regarded their maintenance underwent

a change. Again their rations were scanty and of the worst quality, and to cover the manifest change in their treatment he gave out that the King had diminished the allowance. Things went on in this way, the prisoners were sinking towards the grave, and he was profiting by their spoils. A tostão a day saved from seventy prisoners soon made a sensible difference in his fortunes. He increased rapidly in riches, purchased houses and lands, and showed all the signs of advancing wealth; but he did not escape the reproaches of those who understood the cause, and knew that he was pampered on the life-blood of innocent and persecuted men; and whether from this reason, or the stimulus of a naturally humane heart, he gave up the profitable duties he had assumed to two soldiers of good conscience, who treated the prisoners generally with fairness, and announced that he had obtained from the King a restitution of the daily tostão which he had withdrawn for his own benefit.

No other important change took place in their situation till the end of their captivity. It was at times a bitter lot, but rendered incomparably less hard by the facility now given them of meeting one another, and above all of partaking of those sacred mysteries in which they had long since found their strength and their joy. The life which they led in their prisons was what might have been expected from men who had been taught to look on the varying circumstances of life only as incidents of no importance when compared to the great end they had in view. They had practised the duties of religious life in their colleges, at the courts of princes, in the forests of America, or among the cultivated barbarians of China. In all these vicissitudes they had used the leisure that was allowed them in preparing for new labours and in increasing their acquirements for the service that God might yet demand of them. The dungeons of St. Julian were only one incident more in a life of labour and sacrifice. They made their daily meditation, and their two examinations of conscience, as if they had been in their colleges, and after they were allowed to communicate with one another they said the Litanies of the Saints together, according to the custom of the Society; they celebrated or

attended Mass accordingly as it was allowed them, prepared for the feasts of their patrons by triduos and novenas, and made the Exercises of St. Ignatius repeatedly during the year; and the fasts, the hair-shirts, and daily discipline of many of them bore testimony to the joy with which they carried the cross which their Divine Master had laid on them. Scanty, also, as was the food provided for them, it was gladly divided with those who had greatest need, whether religious or secular, and some would reserve a portion of the little allowed them for the poor, who had access to the railing at the end of the corridor of the prison. These dungeons were truly a school of virtue. They contained, moreover, men learned in the sacred studies, in literature, and in science, and many who for the period of an ordinary life had spoken little but the language of China or of the Guarani Indians, to some of whom perhaps we owe portions of that inheritance of learning which is now to be seen in the British Museum and elsewhere, in the Chinese versions of the Holy Scriptures, and numerous spiritual works, well known to be the work of the Jesuit missionaries. Here, then, was a supply of professors such as no university of the day could boast. The scholars were the younger members, who eagerly drew from their aged companions those lessons of learning and experience which they foresaw might yet enable them to render a better service to God. When we remember that this went on in subterranean dungeons such as have been described, in a darkness such as rendered it difficult to read without a strain that wore out the sight, amid the stench of damp and filth, the torment of insects, the rudeness of officials, and extreme poverty in food and dress, we may form some idea of the power which a supernatural spirit which looks on the Cross of Jesus Christ as the highest glory, and despises all worldly things for His sake, can give to the soul.

Amongst those who ended their days in this fortress, three deserve special notice. The first is Father Emmanuel da Silva, a man of extraordinary virtue, who treated his body with the greatest severity even in his old age, and in spite of all the rigours of his confinement. He had been for many years

missioner in the wildest fastnesses of America, sleeping on the ground, eating only bread and herbs, drinking nothing but water, and walking barefoot on the burning soil. During a long life he had looked on his body as a prison, and his dungeon seemed only to raise his soul nearer to God. The last days of his captivity were spent in a most affectionate and tender intercourse with his Creator, and his countenance after death seemed to be gifted again with all the serenity and vigour of a new life. The hair-shirt, and discipline, and other objects used by him were preserved as precious relics by those who survived him. Father John Alexander Sousa had spent many years in the labours of the Malabar mission, and at the time of his seizure was Procurator for that mission in Lisbon. He was one of those named in the sentence as guilty of the attempt of September 3rd; but not only was he never tried for the crime, but never knew till he had been several years in prison, probably till he was allowed intercourse with his brethren, that he was accused of it. He bore his long confinement with the most exemplary patience, was never heard to complain of the treatment he met, spoke continually of God, prayed for his persecutors, and resigned his soul to God in great peace, leaving behind him the good odour of holiness. Father Francis Wolff was a Silesian by birth, and had been attached to the mission of Para. He was a man of great learning, of remarkable innocence of life, of untiring zeal, and excessive mortification. He never left the confessional whilst there were persons to confess, and used to remain whole nights by the side of a dying savage in whom he saw a soul destined to glorify God for eternity, and whom he loved with all the ardour of an apostle. Carried away as has been described, and thrown into these dungeons, he exercised his love of God by spending several hours daily in prayer, often spending whole weeks on bread and water, and making the month's retreat of St. Ignatius two or three times in a year. It is no wonder if his death was so sweet that the bystanders wept with joy, and applied to him those words of the Psalmist, *Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus.*

In the following letter, of which I have already given a portion, Father Kaulen describes the state of the captives in this fortress during the period of the first governor. His account will be read with painful interest. After having described the removal of the prisoners from Almeida to St. Julian, he says—

It is from one of these prisons that I am writing, Rev. Father. They are much damper than those we left. They are a kind of casemate, deep, dark, and infected. No air enters here except through slits three fingers in width. A little oil is given us for a lamp, which serves us to recite the Divine Office. Our food is disgusting and very scanty, and we have nothing to drink but corrupted water which is full of insects. Our allowance consists of a pound of bread a day, and when one of us is sick they give him a mouthful of fowl, without taking any account whether he is able to digest it or not, for whether he live or die matters little.

What is worse than all this, my dear Father, is the privation of the sacraments, except at the hour of death; and even then it is necessary for the surgeon who acts as physician to attest upon oath that the danger is extreme. As he and the chaplain live outside of the fortress, we are left at night without any resource for body or soul.

The prisons are full of insects, and their decomposed bodies, mixed with the sea-water which filters through the walls, produce an insupportable stench. Everything rots here very quickly, and all the clothes that we had have perished. This caused the commandant to say lately, when he paid a visit to the prisons, 'It is an astonishing thing; everything here rots and corrupts except the Fathers!' It is undoubtedly a sort of miracle, to give us the advantage of suffering something for the love of Jesus Christ; otherwise it would have been impossible for us to survive in the midst of such great sufferings. The surgeon himself does not understand how we live, and confesses honestly that the cure of our infirmities is not the result of his talents, but of the power of God. He has in fact seen some suddenly restored to health after having offered some prayers to the Lord. One, amongst many others, who was at the point of death, took a little of the flour miraculously multiplied by the intercession of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, and felt himself suddenly restored to health. Another, who had fallen into a frenzy, and uttered horrible cries, on his companions

reciting a little prayer over him, became immediately calm, and was insensibly restored to health. Another, who had been brought to the point of death by a painful disease, became suddenly well when he had received the Sacred Eucharist. And this miracle was repeated so often that the surgeon on being called used to say, 'I know the remedy necessary for him; give him the Sacred Viaticum, and that will give him life.' We lost a companion lately. His countenance after death was so beautiful that the guards who had to carry away the body exclaimed in admiration, 'This is the face of a saint!'

In the presence of such wonders, and fortified by the grace of the Lord, we rejoice with those who are on the point of quitting this world, and envy their lot not so much because they have reached the term of their sufferings, as because they are going to receive the crown of justice. Believe me, Rev. Father, the greater part of us ask our Lord to allow us to finish our days here, and we noticed that the French Fathers were sad when they received notice of their liberation, no doubt because they esteemed our lot far happier than their own. It is true we are in incessant suffering, but, for all that, we are always joyful; everything is wanting to us, but nothing disturbs the serenity of our souls. Few of us have still any remnants of our habit, and we can scarcely obtain clothing wherewith to satisfy absolute decency. The coverlet they give us is a sort of hair-cloth, made of some sharp pricking hair. The straw which serves for our bed is soon reduced to litter, and it is only by means of earnest entreaties that we can get it renewed.

This, Rev. Father, is our state. We are not allowed to speak to any one, nor does any one dare to speak to us, or to interest himself in our behalf. The gaoler is a hard and brutal man, and seems to be made to add bitterness to our griefs; he never opens his lips but to insult us, never grants us anything but with a bad grace, and often after we have obtained from him something of the most necessary kind, by dint of sheer importunity, he will come in in a hurry and take it away from us again. He is incessantly telling us that if we will leave the Society we shall obtain our liberation and enjoy a pension and many advantages. Our Fathers from Macao, many of whom had suffered prisons, lashes, and torments among the Gentiles, after having been torn from their missions, are here the companions of our chains. It appears that God is more glorified in the sufferings which they endure, without having deserved them, in these prisons, than by the sacrifice of their lives in idolatrous countries.

Before concluding this letter, I beg the members of my province, all of whom have a place in my heart, to remember me in their prayers, and, in spite of all I have said, not to look on me as an object of pity, as we consider ourselves happy; and great as is my desire to see my companions in imprisonment freed from their sufferings, I would not exchange my situation with any one in the province. I salute all and each one in particular, and hope heaven will bless their labours, that God's glory may increase in the countries in which they exercise their zeal, in proportion as it is diminished in others.

I have the honour to be, Rev. Father,

Your humble servant in Jesus Christ,

LAURENCE KAULEN.

From the prison of St. Julian, at the mouth of the Tagus, December 12, 1766.

The following letter written at the same time by Father Charles Prizkwil is also full of interest, and adds great light as to the sufferings of the prisoners and their patient resignation of themselves into the hands of God, which, as has so often been remarked, is the best refutation of the charge of degeneracy brought against these Fathers:

Rev. Father,—

P.C.

At the time of our seizure in Goa, which was so sudden and unforeseen, I had by the special favour of Providence a convenient opportunity for writing to Father Balthasar Lidner, the Assistant in Rome, and asked him to forward my letter afterwards to you, that you might have the goodness to communicate it in the same way to our dear province of Bohemia. The same Providence has found me a means of writing to you directly to-day, through one of our fellow-prisoners. It is one of our brothers, a native of French Flanders, who has received notice that the Ambassador of his nation has obtained his liberation. Our Lord had conducted him to Goa some years before our misfortunes, and there he had made his vows. The opportunity is therefore very convenient, as it allows me the necessary time and the means of eluding the vigilance of our guards, whom it is difficult to deceive.

I begin by asking for a remembrance in your Holy Sacrifices and those of the whole province, which I never forget under any

circumstances. It is near six years since I or my companions have had the happiness of celebrating or assisting at the Holy Mass. I cannot tell you much of what took place before our coming here, for I am in want of paper as well as other things.

We embarked from Goa in 1761, and were five months at sea. During this sad and painful voyage we lost twenty-three of our companions. Their courage and resignation and love of God, and their confidence in our Lord, made us look on their death rather with feelings of envy than as a cause of grief. On the 20th of May, the eve of Corpus Christi, we arrived at the mouth of the Tagus. Here we were detained three days, and on the fourth began the disembarkation of some of the Portuguese Fathers, of the passengers, and those who were to be taken elsewhere, and we remained on board to the number of a hundred and four. It is to be noticed that we left some of ours in Asia; for being scattered among the savages at the time of our seizure, it was not possible for the emissaries of the Minister to secure them in time for embarkation. At length our turn came, and we left the ship. The port, which is at all times much frequented, was now thronged by an immense crowd, anxious to obtain a sight of us. We were received by a strong guard, and conducted to the tower of St. Julian, which stands at the entrance of the port, having been disembarked on the opposite side. We were shut up in dungeons adjoining those in which, six months before, they had confined our Fathers from Maranhão; this I did not know till some time after. Father Wolff, a Silesian, but belonging to our province, is among their number, and it is in his name as well as my own that I write. Time and necessity, or rather Providence, helped us to find the means of opening communication between one prison and another, and making one another's acquaintance.

When war broke out between Portugal and Spain, other Jesuits were brought to these prisons from those of Almeida. Two years after, the Fathers from Macao arrived, amongst whom is Father John Kostler from Bohemia, who commends himself to your pious remembrances. In the space of five years and four months thirteen have died, who without doubt went to receive the recompense of sufferings borne with unalterable resignation for Jesus Christ. To-day two Frenchmen are to be liberated, the Father Superior of Macao and a brother, who is to carry this letter. We shall then be only seventy-seven here.

I should like to give you a description of the place of my retirement. It is a subterranean vault, like a deep cellar, or rather like

the ancient chambers of the dead. Its situation at the edge of the sea causes a constant humidity, and produces a prodigious quantity of worms, which are a great inconvenience. The walls have windows, whose slender light suffices to enable them to bring us our food, but neither air nor light penetrate our dungeons except at the moment when they open the iron door by which the prisons are entered. From this you may judge how pestilential and unhealthy are these cellars. The bad oil of the lamp emits an insupportable stench. The dungeon which I inhabit is sixteen feet long and thirteen feet wide. There are others smaller, so that two persons find them very inconvenient. But it is a consolation to be able to speak to a companion, which would not have been allowed us if the number of prisoners had been less considerable. At first I had only one; he was a Florentine brother, an excellent sculptor. They afterwards joined to us a young Genoese student, who after two years had elapsed finished his days holily. His place was taken by the brother who is going to leave me, and so it is impossible for me to go to confession. Our guards carry their vigilance to excess to prevent all communication whatsoever, even with those who serve us, who certainly would not dare to open their lips to say a word to us. Meantime it has pleased the Divine Providence to suggest to us an expedient by which we can send communications from one prison to another, and relate to one another our sicknesses and our sufferings, so as to help one another with our prayers.

The means here referred to is the following. They had succeeded in keeping possession of a volume of the *Christian Perfection* of Rodriguez, which they were allowed to pass from one cell to another, the book being carefully examined by the gaoler each time. One of the Fathers invented a system of marks to represent the letters of the alphabet, and having written some observations in this way with a straw blackened in his candle upon the margin of a page, attached this page to the next with saliva, and in this state passed the volume to the next cell. The Father who received it perceived that it contained a message; but it was three months before he found the key so as to be able to decipher it. By degrees this became a regular means of communication, by which they consoled and encouraged one another to bear patiently their sufferings. The writer continues—

The first day on which I arrived here my bed was the damp earth and my pillow my breviary. This was my whole resource in the weakness of my limbs, which was such as to make it impossible for me to stand on my feet. I had left in the ship a little cotton mattress which I had been allowed to bring from Goa. At length they gave me a little straw, which soon rotted. Such is the bed on which I sleep tranquilly. "Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of all consolation Who comforts us in all our tribulations," and Who makes us feel how sweet it is to suffer for His holy Name.

There may be some who, on hearing this account, will say that our lot is very hard; but what are all our ills in comparison with those which the Apostle of the Gentiles bore in all his members? Moreover, I weigh them with the balance of the sanctuary, and am ashamed of suffering so little for my God, especially when I compare my sufferings with those of the first Fathers of our Society, with those of so many glorious martyrs, and with those which Jesus Christ our Saviour and our Model endured for our love.

We have in reality but one grief, but a very great one: it is, that we are deprived of the Bread of Angels. Alas! Reverend Father, would you believe it? it is never granted except to the dying. Oh! we seem to ourselves to be, as it were, dead. God wishes us to be perfectly dead to the world; and here we are, as it were, in our tombs. Would that we may be buried with Jesus Christ in such a manner that God alone may be witness of our evils, of our submission, of our love, and that we may bear up in whatever way it may please Him to dispose of our lot.

I have said nothing of my health. Well, it is fair; and I can moreover assure you that I am perfectly content in my chains, thanks to the Lord Who gives me strength. I desire nothing but to die on the Cross of Jesus Christ; to die like Him, and to accomplish in everything His Divine will.

I beg you, Reverend Father, to give an account of this letter to all my friends and acquaintances. I salute you with all my heart, and beg you will not lament my lot, but rather pray for me to God, as I pray for each of them by name, and that He may vouchsafe to preserve me in this joy of heart, in which it has pleased Him to preserve me till now, in spite of my unworthiness of this favour. This I ask equally for all my brethren in captivity for the sake of Jesus Christ. Prostrate in spirit at your feet, Reverend Father, I humbly implore your charity, that you

and all the Fathers and Brothers of the Province may be so good as to remember our poor captives. Be so good as to remember us daily in your Sacrifices and prayers, for though we are always resigned, we are nevertheless weak and frail men. We can do nothing ourselves, and stand in continual need of the protection of the Most High. For this reason pray for us, in order that your intercession before the throne of the Lord may obtain for us the grace to combat generously and constantly to the end as true Sons of the Society of Jesus.

I am obliged to conclude this letter for want of more paper. Counting on your charitable kindness, I again ask you not to forget us before God.[7]

I remain, Rev. Father,

Your most unworthy servant in Jesus Christ,

CHARLES PRIZKWIL.

From the prison of St. Julian of Lisbon, at the entrance of the Tagus, December, 1766.

It is impossible not to be struck by the simple piety which this letter breathes throughout. We see in it the habitual reference to God's Providence, the confidence in prayer, love of the sacraments, patience in suffering, a desire to be rendered like to Jesus Christ, which, when taken together, are unerringly indicative of a man far advanced in supernatural life.

At the time that the Portuguese Fathers at Macao were seized, there were in that College two French Fathers and a Brother who were taken indiscriminately with the rest and sent to Lisbon. A treaty had been made between Louis XVI. and John V., by virtue of which Fathers who had fled from the persecution of the Emperor Kien Long were received at Macao. The Fathers appealed to this, but Carvalho paid no attention to them, and even took all the means in his power to get the rest expelled from China. For this purpose he went so far as to have libels against the Society translated into Chinese and distributed in Pekin. He then wrote in the King's name to the Emperor of China, who is said

[7] *Anecdotas*, vol. ii. p. 153.

to have answered, that if the Jesuits were bad subjects of Portugal, he had found no reason to complain of them in his empire. Finally, the Queen of France exerted herself, and the French subjects were at length set at liberty. The first of these was Father Louis de Gad, of the Province of Lyons, Superior of the French Mission in China. He was liberated on August 8, 1766. The second was Father John Baptist de Ranceau. He had been a missioner in Africa, whence he was taken to Goa, and thence to Lisbon. He was set free through the same intercession in December, 1766. The third was the Brother who conveyed the letters I have just given. He was a native of Hainault, and was named James Delsart. He was seized in the College of Rachol, in the island of Salsette, near Goa. He did not obtain his liberty till two months after the date of the letters.

In September of the following year, 1767, thirty-six German missioners were liberated at the petition of the Empress of Austria, and about the same time the same number of Portuguese Fathers were taken from the prisons and shipped to Civita Vecchia, in order not to offend the Princess Mary, who petitioned earnestly for the release of all the Fathers; but, as we have seen, many remained in the dungeons till the rod fell from the tyrant's grasp. The following is a portion of the account written by Father de Gad after his liberation.

The dungeon in which I was confined was twenty palms in length and thirteen wide and about thirty high, and was situated under the street. To give light to such a place we had a lamp, by which we were able to say our breviary. There were no windows, but there was a slit opening on to the street, two palms long and three fingers wide, and screened off with boards, in such a manner as to prevent our receiving the air. In each dungeon was an elevation of three or four palms, and on this we put our little baggage and miserable bed. The dampness of the place was such that, some months after, they gave us in addition a coverlet. It would hardly be believed how much we suffered in wet weather from the water which streamed down the walls, which stagnated, and rotted everything we had. The space we had for walking in was limited to five paces. Two strong gates closed us in with heavy bolts. These gates were

opened only morning and evening, and then only long enough to allow them to put in the plates which they brought us, and which they took away again a quarter of an hour after. The food was small in quantity and coarse, sufficient to support in some sort of a way a man in health, but unfit to restore a sick man. . . . Nothing could be more miserable than the condition of those who had infirmities. When the surgeon came his clumsiness increased the evil and the sufferings of the patient, or his ignorance allowed him to perish. The harshness of the officer was such as not to allow anything to be brought even for the sick except at the hours fixed for opening the gates, as one of ours on the eve of his death experienced, when they brought him, instead of a little broth which would have done him good, a couple of raw eggs, saying he might cook them at his lamp. Everything in the way of clothes, though mended a hundred times, was quickly in shreds, and all that we suffered from the rigour of the season failed to soften the hard-heartedness of our guard. Instead of procuring us what was requisite for covering, his avarice led him to turn to his own profit what the Court had fixed each year for our clothing and nourishment. They even withdrew the little sum that had been paid to the barber, and let our hair and beard grow without being cut. But whatever was suffered from want of necessaries was borne with patience, but what grieved us most was the privation of the sacraments. . . . Besides the eighteen Fathers from Macao, there were in this prison seventy other Jesuits from various parts of the world, *i.e.*, fifteen Italians, thirteen Germans, two Flemings, two Spaniards, one Englishman, one Tonkinese, and the rest Portuguese. Among these was Father John Alexander Sousa, accused of being one of the three assassins of the King, who did not know till after eight years of prison, and then only by accident, the crime of which he was accused. Among these heroes of patience several were eighty years of age, others seventy, others sixty. Several were broken down with infirmities, some were blind, some deaf, others gouty, some in their infancy, others with disease in the chest. In fine, all presented an appearance which might have told the guards themselves that they could only live by a sort of miracle. In fact, amidst so much misery, during eight years, twelve only died. Our Lord was pleased in His goodness to let them taste in this life some of those consolations which He promises in the next to those who suffer for justice sake.[8]

[8] Father de Ravignan, vol. ii. p. 43.

I conclude this chapter with an incident of heartless cruelty which filled to the brim the cup of affliction which it pleased God His servants should drink. When the Brief of the suppression of the whole Society reached Portugal, the news was communicated to the captives of St. Julian with all the solemnity that became a great and glorious event. The prisoners were brought out of their cells, and drawn up in front of the castle, to listen to the fatal Brief read aloud by one of themselves in presence of all the officials of the fortress and two companies of soldiers. No sooner was the reading finished than they were forced to exchange the remnants of the religious habits which they still wore, for a sort of frock of various colours, which completed their ignominy while it took from them the last consolation which had been left to them. At the same time they were told to join their joy to that of the whole universe, which was celebrating so auspicious an event with illuminations and solemn thanksgivings to God. And with this cruel sarcasm they were hurried back to their dungeon. Carvalho had in fact ordered *Te Deums* and public rejoicings throughout the dominions of Portugal; but the day of retribution was not far distant.

CHAPTER XIV.

Change of Scene.

"ALL things have their season—a time to weep and a time to laugh, a time to mourn and a time to dance."[1] So it was with Portugal. The administration that had filled Portugal with aching hearts, that had stifled the aspirations of virtue, and trampled down all that was noble in the Portuguese character, at length approached its end. Towards the close of the year 1776, the state of the King's health made it evident that the sceptre would soon pass to other hands. Recourse was had to every expedient to restore the failing health of the King, but they served only to testify to the love and loyalty of those about him. The decay of nature had set in, and no art of medicine could arrest it. To add to his sufferings, whilst he was in this state he was worried with perpetual fear of an impending war with Spain. Carvalho professed the most friendly relations with that country, but at the same time carried on active preparations for war, which seemed to increase as the King grew worse, and he even allowed the Portuguese in South America to commence hostilities by taking certain forts belonging to Spain in those countries. The Spanish Government complained of this conduct to the Government of Portugal, and endless conferences ensued, in which nothing was ever concluded. Spain at length sent a powerful fleet to America, and retook all the places which had been won by Portugal. Meanwhile Carvalho massed troops in Lisbon, repaired fortresses, and took all the measures indicating the imminence of war; but hostilities

[1] Eccles. i. 1—4.

never openly broke out between the two governments. It has always been suspected that Carvalho had objects of his own in view—that, namely, of putting aside the Princess of Brazil in the event of the King's death, and proclaiming the young Prince of Beira, her son, in the hopes by this means of continuing to govern the country himself as Regent. Cardinal Pacca states this as a fact, and adds that the better to effect his purpose he was engaged in a secret treaty with France to marry the young Prince to a princess of that Court.[2] He was now at the summit of his ambition. By a royal decree issued September 20, 1770, on occasion of the restoration of friendly relations with the Holy See, the title of Marquis of Pombal had been conferred on him and his heirs for ever. But he knew well how precarious was his grasp of power, and had formed his plans against the evil day of the King's death, which he knew was not far distant. Unfortunately, however, for him he laid open his designs to his confidential agent Seabra, who, calculating his own interests, revealed all to Mary.[3]

On November 12 the King had a fit of apoplexy, which convinced every one that the end was now near. On the 29th he signed a decree appointing the Queen Regent, and from December 4, on which day it was published, may be dated the commencement of the fall of Carvalho. The Queen, aware of the designs of the Minister, gave orders to the physicians not to let him know the state of the King. In consequence of this precaution, the death of the King, which took place on the morning of February 24, 1777, took the Minister unawares, and foiled his designs, and the Princess Mary of Brazil, married to her uncle, Don Pedro, younger brother of the deceased King, ascended the throne without opposition. It is just to record that in a little paper of instructions, left in the hands of his confessor, after having begged his daughter to seek the temporal and eternal welfare of her subjects, to love her mother and her sisters, to complete the church begun in memory of the great benefit God had conferred on him (in preserving his life on the memorable September 3),

[2] Madame Elizabeth. [3] *Notizie sul Portogallo*, p. 28.

to pay the debts which an impending war had prevented him from meeting, to remember his servants, especially those who had been most faithful, the King begs her to pardon all those State criminals whom she shall consider worthy of pardon, and adds 'as to the fault and offences which they have committed against my person, I have already pardoned all, that God may pardon me my sins.'

The first act of the new Queen was to open the prisons. On the first day five hundred were set at liberty, and in a few days this number was increased to eight hundred. The appearance of these men, buried to mortal eye, in many cases, for eighteen years, filled all hearts with compassion for the victims, and indignation against the tyrant from whose wrath they had been suffering. Squalid and emaciated, scarcely clothed with decency, some unable to stand from weakness, others nearly blind from the obscurity of the dungeon, they appeared more like spectres from the tomb than living men. Among these was the Bishop of Coimbra, Don Michael of the Annunciation, illustrious for his birth and his virtue, whose only crime was to have issued a pastoral against heretical and and schismatical books. He presented a picture of extreme misery, was clad in rags, and scarcely able to stand upon his feet.[4] The young Marquis de Gouvea, son of the Duke de Aveiro, cast as a child into a dungeon for the supposed crime of his father; the illustrious Antonio Freire d'Andrada, cast into prison only for refusing to violate his conscience by condemning the innocent; the Cavalier Cristoforo de Mello, confined for twenty years for a joke in which he spoke of Carvalho as the Portuguese bear, and many others esteemed for their virtue and nobility, were received with acclamation by the people. The Jesuits were about sixty in number. Their state was the most miserable of all, and they were received with corresponding signs of compassion and joy; and they whose names it had been till lately unsafe to pronounce with respect received the double honours due to their character and their sufferings. Carvalho still remained at his post, but would willingly have hid himself

[4] Pacca, *ibid.* p. 36.

from the world, so galling was it to see so many witnesses of his injustice suddenly brought to light. He scarcely stirred from his palace for fear of meeting some one of the victims of his own cruelty. But he had still much to see before his humiliation was complete. The Queen began at once to destroy many of the instruments of injustice which he had created. The tribunal of *Inconfidenza* was abolished, and that of the Nuncio restored. Several unworthy religious, the creatures or relations of Carvalho, were deposed from their offices, the prisons he had built were destroyed, and the feasts of St. Gregory VII., St. Ignatius, St. Francis Borgia, and St. Francis Xavier, which he had degraded out of hatred to the Holy See and the Society of Jesus, were restored to their rank, while many who had been imprisoned or exiled, were restored to their offices, and compensated for their losses. In his own turn, he began to feel himself to be the object of universal contempt, while those who but lately trembled at his look would not even salute him as he passed. He had placed a magnificent medallion of himself on the pedestal of a statue of the King. This became the object of so many insults that the Government had it removed during the night for fear of a tumult. He was not, however, allowed to be long an eye-witness of the triumph of his enemies. At the beginning of March he received orders to resign his office, and the Queen, by a decree of March 4, accepted his resignation, and gave him permission to retire to his estates at Pombal, though at the same time she permitted him to keep the usual salary of Secretary of State. And now we have a change of fortune, upon which he might have reflected with profit for his soul. He who had so often set troops to guard his victims, under pretence of preserving them from popular fury, was in his turn escorted out of Lisbon by a guard of soldiers, through a real desire to protect the once terrible Minister from the indignation of the people.

The coronation of the new sovereign took place with extraordinary solemnity on May 13, and it was on that

occasion that Francis Coelho da Silva, Judge of the Supreme Court, pronounced the celebrated address which has been already alluded to, in which in the name of the whole nation he declares his condemnation and abhorrence of the tyranny that had just come to an end. 'The blood,' he said, 'is still flowing from the wounds with which the heart of Portugal has been pierced by the unlimited and blind despotism from which we have just ceased to suffer. He was the systematic enemy of humanity, of religion, of liberty, of merit, and of virtue. He filled the prisons and the fortresses with the flower of the kingdom. He harassed the public with vexations, and reduced it to misery. He destroyed all respect for the Pontifical and Episcopal authority; he debased the nobility, corrupted morals, perverted legislation, and governed the State with a sceptre of iron, in the vilest and most brutal manner that has ever been seen in the world." He then asks: "What does Providence do?' and answers: 'It dissipates the illusions which had ensnared the piety of the deceased King, and opposes to such appalling disasters the virtue of your Majesty.'[5] The reader will not think I have spoken severely of Carvalho after reading this passage, which it must be remembered is the official expression of the sentiments long pent up in the hearts of the people, poured out, as it were, by acclamation when it was no longer death to speak. But we shall see something more judicial presently. The Queen, having been informed that the Marquis da Lorna and three of the Tavoras, brothers of the Marquis, executed on the 13th January, 1759, had refused to avail themselves of the pardon, and were still in prison, demanding judgment on their innocence, appointed a tribunal to examine the accusations against them, the result of which was a royal decree, issued May 17, in which they were all declared perfectly innocent, and worthy of being restored to the honours belonging to their rank. The three Tavoras were in consequence declared respectively Field Marshal, Governor of the City of Evora, and Commander of the fortress of Elvas.

[5] *Anecdotas*, vol. ii. p. 166.

As they were sentenced by the same Act that sacrificed the other members of the family, and involved in the same manner the Fathers of the Society in the guilt of the conspiracy, and had been spared only because the King would not allow more blood to be shed, this decision of the tribunal is equivalent to an official declaration of the falsehood of the whole story of the conspiracy, which rests only on that sentence. On the same day the illustrious Freire d'Andrada was not only declared innocent, but raised to the post of High Chancellor and Judge of the Supreme Court of the Palace. It would be foreign to my purpose to enumerate the different persons who were thus restored to liberty and honour. It is enough that scarce a day passed which did not add fresh official testimony to the injustice of the acts of Carvalho, and the oppression which had weighed on all classes of the people. I am more immediately concerned with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. The Society was now no more, but Bishops gladly invited the dispersed members to labour in their dioceses, showing what has so often been said that it was only fear of the Minister that made them desert them in the day of tribulation. The Queen sent for her old confessor, Father Oliveira, and treated him with great kindness, showing the greatest compassion for his sufferings, and giving him a pension of 300,000 reis. Three others of noble family, received 250,000 each. The foreign Fathers, about thirty in number, were provided with means to return to their own countries. She sent a pension to all the Jesuits sent into exile, and reimbursed the Holy Father for all the expense he had incurred on their account, sending him for this purpose the sum of 400,000 crowns.

Still there was a feeling that something more was required in reparation for justice, and it was finally determined to institute an official inquiry into the conduct of the late Minister. The inquiry began in September, and continued with some interruption, owing to his failing health, until the end of January, 1780. During his illness he wished to leave his estate for the purpose of taking some baths, which

were considered useful for his health, but it was replied that being a *State prisoner*, that could not be allowed to him. The result of this trial was never made officially public, though it was looked for with great interest by all Europe. It is said that the Queen consulted with Pius VI. on the subject, and that he advised her, considering the number of persons in high station who were implicated in the crimes of Carvalho, to withhold the publication, and to build a church in honour of the Sacred Heart as a reparation of injured justice. The author of the *Memoria Cattolica Secunda*, published in 1783, speaks of this letter as beyond all doubt. It was written at the end of February or the beginning of March, 1780, and he tells us that it contained a complete justification of the nobles and the Jesuits, and that copies of it were sent at the same time to the principal Courts of Europe. A letter from Vienna, dated April 5, of the same year, published by this author,[6] speaks on the authority of the private secretary of the Empress of an authentic copy of this letter being then in the archives; and says that in it the Queen informed the Holy Father that after a juridical examination into the pretended regicide, 'she was fully convinced of the innocence of the nobles and the Jesuits, and that she considered herself bound in conscience to make a public declaration of this innocence, to restore both the surviving nobles and the Jesuits to the state they were in before that event; that she did not fear the Court of Spain, but only the Divine justice, that she was, therefore, absolutely determined to recall the Jesuits, to restore to them their property, their colleges, and their houses, and asked the Holy Father to consider in what manner this could be done, notwithstanding the Brief of Clement XIV., which had been received in Portugal.' The same author tells us that a copy of the trial was presented to the Pontiff by the Portuguese Minister Menezes in his audience of April 27, 1780. It is quite credible that for prudential reasons the Holy Father may have considered that the time was not come for publishing this trial, but there can be no doubt there were other influences

[6] Vol. i. p. 140.

at work to prevent it. Seven years had not yet elapsed since the combined action of the Ministers of the Bourbonic Courts had forced upon the unwilling Pontiff the extinction of the Society. The party that had thus prevailed still held the reins in these same Courts. Though in the beginning of his attack on the Society Carvalho seems to have stood alone, it was so only because in other countries the plans of the party were not mature, and because in Portugal there were combined the unhappy circumstance of a King ready to be led by any one who knew how to take advantage of his fears, and a Minister who at once possessed himself thoroughly of the mastery over the King, and had nerve to carry through without flinching deeds from which the more refined though not more scrupulous nature of Choiseul would have recoiled. Cardinal Pacca tells us, in his memoir on Portugal, that though the reign of Carvalho ceased with the accession of Mary, the Court still remained impregnated with his principles, and he attributes many evils still existing in Portugal at the time of his Nunciature, sixteen years after this period, to this cause. It is no wonder, then, that every possible pressure was put upon the Queen to prevent the publication of a trial which thus restored to honour that body of men which all the power then ruling in Europe was leagued together to bury in ignominy. There can be no doubt that this was the real reason why no official declaration of the result of the trial was ever published. To have declared the Jesuits innocent in the face of the party which then ruled Europe would have been an act of heroic virtue. Mary was not equal to it, and perhaps it was this burthen that weighed so heavily upon her soul, and helped to bring on that deep melancholy which ended in a complete aberration of mind, in which state she uttered those terrible cries of despair of which the Cardinal speaks.

In reality, however, the withholding of the publication of the trial, though it has deprived us of many details of one of the most intricate webs of infamy which the world has ever seen, is in no way necessary for the justification either of the

nobles or the Society. The reader will bear testimony that each calumny has been refuted in its place in the course of this work, and the various acts of Mary, the opening of the prisons, the restoring of so many to honour and favour, the declaration of the innocence of several condemned in the same sentence as the members of the Society, the reversion of the sentence of January 12, the placing Carvalho in the position of a State prisoner, the formal declaration of his guilt, and his condemnation to death, of which we have yet to speak, all quite sufficiently justify the Society with respect to any accusation brought against it by him.

Though, as has been said, the trial was never published, too many persons were interested in the truth to make it possible to keep it entirely secret. A copy was obtained, and from it a summary made, which the author of the *Memoria* of which I have been speaking tells us he had had in his hand. As this writer had opportunities of knowing many things inaccessible to us, and as he wrote immediately after the occurrence of these events, and as this summary contains many things of surprising interest, and all in accordance with what has been said on other authority in various parts of this volume, I shall here translate some portions of it from his pages. It is preceded by a letter, dated September, 1781, that is, only four years after the death of Joseph, which expresses the state of parties to which I have referred, and serves as an introduction. The reader must not be surprised at the appearance of mystery in the absence of the names of the writers. Those were times when any one who spoke openly in favour of the Jesuits was a marked man, and few had courage to put their names to anything in opposition to the still dominant faction. The letter is as follows :

Great and terrible have been the efforts made by the partisans of Carvalho, and immense the sums of money which were sent to Lisbon to prevent the publication of the trial and of the sentence. The firm resolution of the Queen to do justice was otherwise made known, and it was thought impossible that a criminal who had confessed, and had been convicted of the most horrible murders

and the most enormous crimes could escape the punishment to which he was condemned, as such impunity could only give occasion to other Ministers to abuse their power and the goodness of their sovereign. This is so much the more to be wondered at, because the whole kingdom, being well acquainted with the wickedness of the accused through the printing of his life, the people had on more than one occasion shown signs of tumult on account of the delay of the execution of justice. Hence it is that notwithstanding the exertions of so many well-intentioned persons, Carvalho has been freed from the punishment which he deserved, and nothing has been done in favour of so many innocent, oppressed persons, although it is certain that Carvalho has declared the authors of the tumult and the plot at Madrid, that he has declared the authors of the death of the Dauphin, of the pretended letter of the General Ricci against the King, the money that was spent on the part of the Court for the abolition of the Society, and the persons to whom it was distributed in Rome, naming the Cardinals, prelates, and princesses suborned, &c., that it was the same Carvalho who caused the King's carriage to be fired at, to inculpate the nobles and the Jesuits, this being discovered by the declaration of the very soldier whom Carvalho had employed to fire. He has been, moreover, convicted of having wished to deprive the Princess of Brazil of the crown, so as to give it to the Prince of Beira, that he might remain Regent during the minority of that Prince. It is known that certain verses were current in Portugal, which contained the whole plot of the tumult at Madrid, but at the request of the Minister of Spain they were withdrawn. Efforts were also made to suppress the horrible life of Carvalho, which was in circulation ; but they could obtain nothing from the Queen beyond the prohibition of a new edition.

It is needless to remark here that in reading the summary of the trial, when Carvalho acknowledges his crime, or makes an admission in opposition to the line of conduct he had pursued, the reader may reasonably accept his testimony, as he could have had no motive for falsehood, but when he throws the blame upon the King, he must judge from other knowledge, and it will be most reasonable not to believe him.

"After many questions put to Carvalho whilst his depositions were being taken, to which he gave no categoric answer, the judges showed him three letters, written and

signed by his own hand. The first was addressed to the Duke de Choiseul, Minister of France, and in this it was said that he had obtained from the King the exile of the Portuguese Jesuits; the second was written to a Minister of Spain, telling him that he had made the King believe that the arquebuses had been fired against his Majesty, and that he had no doubt that justice would be executed on the nobles and that the Jesuits would be exiled, except those who were to undergo the chastisement of the nobles. The third letter contained the account of a horrible conspiracy against the whole royal house of Portugal. This conspiracy was really feigned by Carvalho, but attributed to the Jesuits, Henriquez, the Provincial, Moreira, confessor of the King, Malagrida, Oliveira, and Perdigão, with whose names it appeared to be signed.[7] Carvalho said that the conspiracy had been planned from the day on which the King Don John V. had done the Jesuits the great honour of depositing in one of their houses the dispensation for the marriage of the Princess of Brazil with her uncle, the Infante Don Pedro. According to the letter, the conspiracy was to take effect by the murder of the King, and the crowning of the Infante Don Pedro, to be followed by an attempt against him, and all the royal house, and finally by the crowning of one of the Tavoras. Carvalho had had the foresight to put this letter in the same place in the archives as that in which the dispensation was preserved. When the judges read this letter they were surprised to see so horrible a conspiracy planned by such respectable Jesuits; but the Viscount Ponte de Lima, Secretary of State for the general despatches of the kingdom, called their attention to the following clauses of the letter: 'Oh, what ingratitude of men! After the King had done them such favours, and confided to them this sacred deposit, to lay snares against his royal house!' It is impossible, said the Viscount, that these Fathers should reproach themselves in their own letter for their own designs. The judges

[7] There is a little confusion here. It is evident that the project of conspiracy purporting to be signed by the Fathers was on a distinct paper and was enclosed in the letter.

recovered from their surprise, and continued the interrogatory with more caution, and having put to Carvalho several questions on this point, he became quite embarrassed, and began to answer as follows:[8]

I declare (seeing that I am discovered on all sides) that the King commanded me to do almost all that I did, as I shall show in due time. I declare that I have always considered the Jesuits to be wise and good men, and useful to the country. I declare that what I did against them I did by the orders of the Ministers of Spain, as well past as present, and of those of France, especially of Choiseul, as is clear from his letter to me, written at the time of the death of the Dauphin. I also acted at the instigation of the Rev. Fathers M. and P. It was these who promoted the story about the monarchy in Paraguay, who coined and circulated the money, who wrote the letter on the illegitimacy of the King of Spain, attributing it to the General of the Jesuits, and imitating his handwriting. At the same time, they took measures to excite the tumult in Madrid, of which the real originators and leaders were the Señores A. F. C.; but others took part. Thirty millions were spent over the destruction of the Jesuits. This sum was sent to Rome to be distributed in a number of annual pensions to their Eminences P. V. M. G. Z. P. and others, as appears from the acknowledgments annually given by the same, which will be found in my archives, No. 13. I declare that I always looked on Father Malagrida as a saint, and in proof of this I preserve one of his letters. What I did against that Father I did by the orders of the King, with the assistance of others.

It must here be noted that there were among the Cardinals men, who, like Da Cunha, had been forced on the Holy See by secular Courts, and that when secular powers intrude into the sanctuary, it is no wonder if the sanctuary is polluted; the account then proceeds:

[8] This story shows Carvalho to have been blinder in his malice than those who gave him least credit for perspicacity would have us believe. It almost passes belief that the most malicious imagination could have conceived five Jesuits signing a scheme of assassination of a whole royal house, just as if it had been a warrant for the execution of a band of marauders. The Jesuits, at any rate, had no character for shrewdness, if such an act was conceivable. And could Carvalho have so far forgotten himself as to introduce his own moralizings on the very paper supposed to contain the secret conspiracy of the Jesuits? Still there was a clumsiness in all his plots, and his documents so often contained contradictions, that we can only say that his blindness exceeded itself here.

It must be understood that the King did not absolutely wish anything to be done against Malagrida : but Carvalho made him believe that the accused was a servant of the Jesuits, and was privy to the supposed conspiracy. Such was the declaration of Don N. Duarte in presence of Carvalho himself, and it is from his lips I have received it ; but to this he made no answer. Carvalho, moreover, declared that, having caused Malagrida to be examined by two religious, one of whom is still living, they declared that they found him innocent, and that he showed in his answers a sound judgment, and preserved his theological distinctions more fresh than they themselves did."

On the subject of the famous conspiracy against the King of Portugal, we have the following curious revelation, to which we have already referred :

Among the hundreds of persons thrown into prison by Carvalho and liberated by the Queen, was a soldier half eaten up with vermin, whose flesh was falling from him in pieces. This man, when brought into the presence of the King, Don Pedro, declared that he had fired the arquebuses at the carriage of the King by order of Carvalho, who commanded him to fly as soon as he had fired the shots, and, when he was arrested, to say that he had done it at the instigation of the Jesuits, and offered him for this, besides his liberty, a recompense of two or three thousand crowns. This criminal, on being confronted with Carvalho, made the same declaration in his presence, and Carvalho confessed that it was all true, but that he had done it by order of the King, on account of the discovery of a secret conspiracy against his royal person. He confessed that he had carried out the chastisement of the nobles with passion, but at the same time with justice, on account of the private notice which the King had received.

It is needless to say how improbable such a story is, as if the King would have punished a secret conspiracy by inventing another, or as if Carvalho would have allowed such an opportunity of humbling the nobles as a real conspiracy, had such a one existed, to pass by without turning it to his purpose.

At the beginning the soldier was fed in prison with bread, meat and wine, but a little after they shortened his allowance, giving him only bread and water. So he himself declared. Carvalho being asked why he had imprisoned him, and why he

had not set him at liberty, being innocent, he answered that he had given orders for that, but had been told that he was dead. The Queen gave the soldier a pension for life; but as he died soon after being set at liberty, it passed to his wife. Carvalho said that he had burned the report of the trial by order of the King; and with respect to the second trial of Malagrida, it was suggested, after several questions, that no doubt it was withdrawn because it did not stand together. To this he gave no answer. Being asked how it was that he was condemned by the Inquisition, when he had been accused in the sentence of January 12 of being chief instigator of the conspiracy, he answered that the Inquisition condemned him; and as to his being accused in the sentence, it was because the person who drew it up put him in; and though he had read it, he left it as it was, not to interrupt the course of proceedings. Being asked why he burned the genealogies of the condemned nobles, he answered that the King had told him to do so, that not even the name might remain of the authors of such an enormous crime; but it being urged that this could not apply to other nobles who had no part in the conspiracy, he gave no answer. Among his papers was found a letter in his own hand, but attributed to a Jesuit of the name of Carvalho, asking the King John V. to leave the Society heirs to the throne, with discretion to crown Don Pedro. Being asked for an explanation of this letter, he said the hand was his, but he had not written it, and he thought some one had put it among his papers.[9] On being asked as to the contents of a sealed box which he had received from London, he answered that it contained some millions which the King of England owed to his Majesty; and being pressed as to the contents of certain letters treating of the ruin of the country which had been prevented by the Jesuits, and especially of one from the Duke of Cumberland in which the Duke associated himself with Carvalho in the work of destroying the Society, he only answered by a fainting fit, which lasted a long time.

The author then tells us that Carvalho had laid open to the Duke the opposition of the Fathers to his marriage with the Princess of Brazil, and that the Duke in his irritation promised Carvalho to do all in his power for their destruction.

[9] The *Memoria Cattolica Secunda* was written in Italian by a Spaniard, and as the document from which these passages were taken must have been written in Portuguese, it is not surprising if in some parts the sense is obscure. Some passages are indeed scarcely intelligible, and have been omitted.

On July 1, 1780, a royal decree was issued declaring the Countess of Atouguia 'absolutely innocent, and free from all shadow of blame as to the matter treated of in the tribunal of *Inconfidenza*,' in which, it was added, there was not only no proof, but no sign of crime. This lady was wife of the Count of Atouguia, executed on the celebrated 13th of January, and had been eight years a prisoner before she knew of what she was accused. This additional declaration of the injustice of the sentence of January 12 gave courage to the Marquis da Lorna, to petition the Queen for the honour of all who had been condemned on that occasion, and for that of their families, to order a revision of the sentence by which so many noble families had been disgraced. After having consulted on the lawfulness of such an act, she issued a decree on October 10, 1780, ordering an examination into the whole question, and appointing a tribunal to decide it. The new tribunal commenced its labours at once, but it dragged on from various causes till, on April 7, 1781, the Queen, impatient at such long delays, said to her Minister that her soul was wearied with the long duration of this cause, and wished them to come to a decision that very day. The tribunal carried its sittings through the night into the morning hours, and at a quarter before four on the morning of April 8, decided by a majority of eighteen to three that *all, whether living or dead, who were executed or imprisoned by virtue of the sentence of January* 12, 1759, *were innocent.* The Queen received the news with the greatest joy, but deferred the official publication of the decision till after Holy Week, which was close at hand. It was, however, communicated to many who were specially interested in it. When the feasts of Easter had passed, the public looked eagerly for the publication of the decision, but this publication was not forthcoming. The royal Procurator represented the difficulties which would arise from the confiscated property now in the hands of the Crown, which would necessarily have to be restored if the sentence were reversed. This was looked on by many as an artifice of the friends of Carvalho, and, by others, as due to the machinations of the

enemies of the Society, who could not bear to see it declared innocent before the world. At length, on August 16, 1781, a decree was published, evidently intended to be a compromise between the two parties. It declares Carvalho guilty, without formally declaring the others innocent; but it is impossible to read it attentively without seeing that it contains substantially a declaration of the innocence of his victims as well as of his own guilt. The decree is as follows:

After having resolved for just reasons which were laid before me, that it was not suitable to my royal service that the Marquis of Pombal should continue in future in the employment of Secretary of State for the affairs of this kingdom, and after having ordered that he should leave my capital and retire to his estates of Pombal, I should not have believed that after such an act of clemency, he would have dared to take a forced and frivolous occasion, on presenting an answer to a civil trial which was brought against him, to give to the public an apology for his past ministry, of which I expressed my disapproval in my royal decree of September 3, 1779. Having nevertheless caused him to be heard and examined on various heads of accusation brought against him, so far was he from disculpating himself, that his answers under the various examinations to which I ordered him to be submitted have even aggravated his faults and rendered them more notable. All this having been examined by a committee of Ministers, whom I thought it proper to intrust with this affair, they came to the unanimous resolution that the *Marquis of Pombal was guilty, and worthy of exemplary punishment.* Nevertheless, I have thought it better that the punishment should not be carried into execution, considering his grave infirmities and his decrepit age, and I have preferred to exhibit clemency rather than justice, especially as the said Marquis has asked pardon, detesting his temerity, his excesses, and crimes; hence I have consented to pardon him the corporal punishment which is due to him, commanding him to remain at a distance of not less than twenty leagues from the capital, until he shall receive orders otherwise from me, at the same time leaving entire and uninjured all the rights and just pretensions of my crown and administration; and all my subjects who may consider themselves to have suffered injustice from the said Marquis, may take advantage of their rights, not only for the restitution of lost goods, but also for the indemnification of all injuries, losses, and

interests in which the said Marquis has prejudiced them: since it is our royal intention to forgive him only the effective punishment which vindictive justice required, without any prejudice to the injured parties or to my royal patrimony, so that all in general, and my royal Procurator in particular, will have full liberty to take competent measures against the house of the said Marquis, as well during his life as after his death.

Palacio de Quelus, August 16, 1781.

It appears, then, that the guilt of Carvalho was proved to be even greater than had been asserted, greater even than that of condemning the innocent on January 12. The extracts I have given from the trial give some clue to the meaning of this expression of the decree. That the corporal punishment here referred to was death must be evident. It is proved also by the fact that a few days after the publication of this decree, the Count of Oeiras, his son, waited upon the Queen and thanked her for her clemency in sparing his father's life.

Little remains now to be added regarding the greatest of the persecutors of the Society of Jesus. He died on his estate at Pombal on May 5, 1782.

His son, the Count of Oeiras, asked leave to have his father's body transported to the capital. The Viscount de Villanova de Cervera, immediate successor of Carvalho as Secretary of State, gave him the following dignified and just reply:

"Your father when living pronounced sentence against himself when he denied me the permission to transport to Lisbon the remains of my father, who, having been exiled from the capital, died in a prison without ever knowing the motive of his detention. The reason that he gave was this, that he who died out of the capital in the disgrace of his sovereign, could not be transported thither to be buried. This was the sentiment of the Marquis, your father, on this subject, and this, too, is mine on the request which you now make.'[10]

We might here close our volume. The work of destruction was complete, and the hand that had struck the Society had been laid low. The scattered members were mingled with

[10] *Compend. dell' Espuls.* p. 415.

the ordinary clergy, fulfilling their calling of labouring for souls wherever the means were offered them, looking forward to that restoration which a consciousness of their own innocence and a confidence in the justice of God told them was not far distant. But my work would not be complete if I did not show the reader one glimpse of what was then a dim future, and is to us already past and to many forgotten. Seventy years from the first expulsion of the Society from Portugal have passed away, when it is again welcomed to Portugal with all the demonstrations of the joy of a whole people. And as if it pleased God here again that where there had been most sin there should be most love, the first pupils who were presented for reception into the new College of the Jesuits at Coimbra were the four sons of the Countess of Oliveira, grand-daughter of Carvalho. 'The Countess of Oliveira,' writes Father del Vaux, the first Superior, on May 27, 1830, 'has offered me four of her sons, quite proud that they should be the first accepted by the Fathers of the Society.' 'There is no need,' she said, 'of examining or condemning the conduct of my grandfather. If he took the part in the destruction of the Society that is attributed to him, it is for us his children to make reparation for so great an injustice. If he has been calumniated and is innocent, it is for us to prove it by our eagerness in receiving you.'

But the Society had before it an opportunity of returning good for evil far more strange than that of taking care of the descendants of his house. It reminds us of one of those stories of restless spirits which haunt the earth till they are set free by the paying of a debt, or the accomplishment of a vow. The mortal remains of Carvalho were to find no sepulchre till Mass had been celebrated over them by a Father of the Society of Jesus. It was a truly Christian vengeance, and the Providence of God scarcely ever brought about a more strange or more touching illustration of His command—'But I say to you, love your enemies, do good to them that hate you.'[11] 'The first city,' says Cretineau-Joly,[12] 'which

[11] St. Matt. v. 44. [12] Vol. vi. c. v. p. 263.

opened its gates to the Jesuits after their entrance into the diocese of Coimbra, was Pombal, the place where the Minister of that name was exiled and died.' We must allow Father del Vaux himself to relate what happened.[13]

We were received (he writes, March 6, 1832) with the ringing of bells, complimented, and led in triumph by the Archpriest, accompanied by his clergy. The Church where two of our Fathers went to say Mass was magnificently illuminated, as on the greatest solemnities. As for myself, moved by a religious sentiment which it is impossible to express, I had slipped away with a Father and a Brother before meeting the good curé, and had run off to the Church of the Franciscans to pray at the tomb of the Marquis, but the unfortunate man has no tomb. At a little distance from the high altar, we found a bier covered by a miserable pall, which the Father Guardian of the convent told us was his. It had waited in vain for the honours of sepulture from the 5th of May, 1782. . . I can say, then, in all truth, that after more than half a century of proscription, the first step of the Society, on its solemn return to Coimbra, was to celebrate an anniversary Mass in presence of the body, for the repose of the soul of him who had proscribed it, and in the place where he passed the last years of his life—disgraced, exiled, and condemned to death. What a series of events were necessary to lead to this! I left Pombal, feeling scarcely sure if this were a dream or a reality. The presence of the coffin, the name of Sebastian pronounced in the prayer, the sound of all the bells of the parish celebrating the return of the Society, and all this at the same time. I fully believe that this impression will never be effaced from my heart.

[13] Cretineau, *ibid.*

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